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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON POE

I. THREE NOTES ON POE'S SOURCES

1. Poe's Sonnet—*To Science* may have been prompted originally by Coleridge, whose discussion of the relation of poetry and philosophy (in the fourteenth chapter of the *Biographia Literaria*) gave Poe the cue for his discussion of the same subject in his "Letter to B—," prefixed to the 1831 edition of his poems. But the immediate inspiration to the writing of this poem came, I believe, from Keats's *Lamia*. The opening lines of *Lamia*:

Upon a time, before the faery broods
Drove Nymph and Satyr from the prosperous
woods,
Before King Oberon's bright diadem,
Sceptre, and mantle, clasp'd with dewy gem,
Frighted away the Dryads and the Fauns
From rushes green, and brakes, and cowslipp'd
lawns,—

find a pretty obvious parallel in the concluding lines of Poe's sonnet:

Hast thou not dragged Diana from her car?
And driven the Hamadryad from the wood
To seek a shelter in some happier star?
Hast thou not torn the Naiad from her flood,
The Elfin from the green grass, and from me
The summer dream beneath the tamarind tree?

The central idea of his sonnet Poe found also in a brief passage in the second part of *Lamia* (ll. 229-238):

Do not all charms fly
At the mere touch of cold philosophy?
There was an awful rainbow once in heaven:
We know her woof, her texture; she is given
In the dull catalogue of common things.
Philosophy will clip an Angel's wings,
Conquer all mysteries by rule and line,
Empty the haunted air, and gnomed mine—
Unweave a rainbow, as it erewhile made
The tender-person'd Lamia melt into a shade.

2. The atmospheric device of the barking of the dog in the climactic scene of *The Gold Bug* (*Virginia Poe*, V, pp. 115f.) was perhaps

suggested to Poe by a passage in Seba Smith's *The Money Diggers*, where a similar device is employed to intensify the excitement attending the unearthing of a rich store of buried treasure. *The Money Diggers* appeared in *Burton's Magazine* in August, 1840 (VII, pp. 81f.), shortly after Poe had resigned as its literary editor, and hence in all likelihood fell under his eye.

By way of making explicit the parallelism between the two stories, I give here the more significant sentences from the corresponding passages. I cite first from *The Money Diggers*. "While they were battling with this difficulty" [the collecting of water in the pit in which the treasure-seekers were digging], writes Smith (*Burton's* VII, p. 91), "a tremendously great black dog came and stood upon the brink [of the pit], and opened his deep red jaws, and began to bark with terrific power. They shrunk back from the hideous animal, and raised their shovels to fright him off; but a second thought told them they had better let him alone. . . . They again plied their shovels with all diligence, and as they stepped to and fro at their work, that deep-mouthed dog kept up his deafening bark, and leaping round the verge of the pit. . . . When they first struck the stone [beneath which the treasure had been buried] . . . the dog began to bark with redoubled fierceness, and as they proceeded to uncover it, he seemed to grow more and more enraged."

Poe, in describing the first attempt of Legrand and his confederates to unearth the treasure of Captain Kidd, writes as follows (*Virginia Poe*, V, pp. 115f.): "Our chief embarrassment lay in the yelpings of the dog, who took exceeding interest in our proceedings. He, at length, became so obstreperous that we grew fearful of his giving the alarm to some stragglers in the vicinity. . . . The noise was, at length, very effectually silenced by Jupiter, who, getting out of the hole with a dogged air of deliberation, tied

the brute's mouth up with one of his suspenders." Later, when the company had begun to dig a second hole, in which the treasure was presently found (*l. c.*, p. 118), they "were again interrupted by the violent howlings of the dog," whose improvised muzzle had now been removed. "His uneasiness, in the first instance," so runs Poe's account, "had been, evidently, but the result of playfulness or caprice, but he now assumed a bitter and serious tone. Upon Jupiter's again attempting to muzzle him, he made furious resistance, and, leaping into the hole, tore up the mould frantically with his claws." A few moments later the treasure box came into view.

It will be observed that the dog in Poe's story is the property of the treasure-seekers, and hence his attitude is not, as in *The Money Diggers*, a hostile one; but his function is evidently the same in both stories—the heightening of the dramatic effect.

There are other parallels between the two stories: in both, for example, the scene is laid in an unfrequented island off the Atlantic Coast (in *The Gold Bug*, Sullivan's Island, near Charleston, South Carolina; in *The Money Diggers*, on Jewell's Island, near Portland, Maine); in both it is a mysterious scrap of paper (or of parchment) that gives the clue to the whereabouts of the treasure; and in both, rings, necklaces, and watches are among the valuables that are found in the treasure-box. These agreements, however, can scarcely be held to possess any significance in themselves, since they involve details that are all more or less conventional in the story of buried treasure; though when taken in connection with the more striking parallel that I have noted, they seem to me to lend some support to the theory that I have advanced.

3. For a part of the material used in his essay on *Anastatic Printing*¹ (first published in the *Broadway Journal* for April 12, 1845) Poe drew on an article which appeared in the *London Art Union* for February, 1845.² Poe

tracks his original closest in his fourth paragraph, which is largely paraphrased from the third paragraph of the original article. Poe writes, for instance, in the second sentence of this paragraph: "We dampen the leaf with a certain acid diluted, and then place it between two leaves of blotting-paper to absorb superfluous moisture;" in the second sentence of the corresponding paragraph in the earlier essay, we read: "The sheet is first moistened with diluted acid, and placed between sheets of blotting paper, in order that the superfluous moisture may be absorbed." Again, in his fourth sentence Poe writes: "The acid in the interspaces between the letters, immediately corrodes the zinc, but the acid on the letters themselves, has no such effect, having been neutralized by the ink;" in the earlier essay we read: "The ink neutralizes the acid, which is pressed out from the blank space only, and etches them away." It is due to Poe to say that he mentions the *Art-Union* in his essay, though he nowhere makes any specific acknowledgment of his indebtedness to it.

II. THE ORIGINALS OF POE'S PROPER NAMES

The musical nature of Poe's proper names has been commented on by more than one of his critics, and it has been held that a number of these names were coined by Poe. There can be no difference of opinion as to the sonorousness of Poe's names—especially of those used in his poetry; but that any considerable number of these names were coined by him seems to me improbable.

The sources of most of the proper names used by Poe are readily obvious. A good many of them came from history, as with *Tamerlane*, *Politian*, *Pym*, and *Dupin*; others were drawn from Greek or Latin legend, as *Helen* and *Ligeia* and *Berenice*; others from Oriental tradition or myth, as *Al Aaraaf*, *Aidenn*, *Israfel*, *Astarte*; while others, as *Morella*, *Montresor*, *Arnheim*, and *Zante*, were European place-names. Many of them, moreover, as *Angelo*, *Ianthe*, *Lalage*, *Lenore*, *Prospero*, *Fortunato*, and the like, are either conventional or so common as not to call for any explanation.

¹ See the *Virginia Poe*, xiv, pp. 153 f.

² I have not seen the original article, but cite from a reprint of it which appeared in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for June, 1845 (xi, pp. 383 f.).

Among those of which the derivation is not so readily apparent, *Marie Rogêt* (in *The Mystery of Marie Rogêt*) is, as Poe tells us in a footnote, merely Mary Rogers³—victim of a sensational tragedy of the early forties—made French. *Usher* (in *The Fall of the House of Usher*) was the name of a Boston family that befriended Poe's parents on their visits to Boston shortly after their marriage.⁴ The original of *William Wilson* was a hosier, first in Cheapside and later at Kendall, with whom the firm of Ellis & Allan (of which Poe's foster-father was junior member) did business during the second and third decades of last century.⁵ *Ermengarde* (in *Eleanora*) and *Rowena* (*Lady Rowena Trevanion of Tremaine* in Poe's *Ligeia*) perhaps come from Scott (though they may have been drawn directly from European history), and *Tremaine* was probably suggested by Robert Plumer Ward's novel of that title. *De Vere* in Poe's *Lenore* may have been suggested by the title of another of Ward's novels. *Nourjahad* (in *Eleanora*) was apparently taken from Mrs. Frances Sheridan's romance, *The History of Nourjahad*.

Julius Rodman (*The Journal of Julius Rodman*) found its origin, we can be all but certain, in the given names of Joseph Rodman Drake, whose lyrics Poe had reviewed in the *Southern Literary Messenger* in April, 1836,⁶ three years before the appearance of Poe's story in *Burton's Magazine*. *Wormley* and *Thornton*, lay figures in the same story, are well-known family names in Virginia to this day, and the Richmond Thorntons were intimately associated with the Allans, Poe's foster-parents, during the poet's boyhood.⁷ A

³ *Virginia Poe*, v. pp. 1 f.

⁴ See Woodberry's *Life of Poe*, I, pp. 6, 9, 12.

⁵ William Wilson was a Quaker. A number of the letters that passed between him and the Richmond firm are preserved in the "Ellis-Allan Papers," now among the treasures belonging to the Library of Congress at Washington.

⁶ *Virginia Poe*, VIII, pp. 275 f.

⁷ The nom-de-plume *Quarles* used by Poe with *The Raven* as published in the *American Whig Review* in February, 1845, may have been suggested by another well-known family of Richmond and vicinity

third lay figure in this story, *Wyatt* (who also appears in the tale, *The Oblong Box*), was in all likelihood suggested by Professor Thomas Wyatt, with whom Poe collaborated in the translation and adaptation of his *Conchologist's First-Book*, which gave rise in 1847 to one of the earliest charges of plagiarism against the poet.

Baldazzar and *Castiglione* in Poe's drama, *Politian*, are but the Christian name and the surname, respectively, of the celebrated author of the *Book of the Courtyer*, Baldassarre Castiglione. *Alessandra*, in the same poem, is doubtless to be traced to *Politian's* friend, Alessandra Scala. The *Duke Di Broglie*, likewise in Poe's play, was probably suggested by Victor de Broglie, French Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1830 to 1836, during the time both of the composition and of the publication of *Politian*.⁸ The name *Lalande* in *The Spectacles* involves an allusion to the French astronomer, Joseph de Lalande (1732-1807), and a similar allusion to the German inventor, Baron Wolfgang von Kempelen (1734-1804), is to be seen in the hero of *Von Kempelen and his Discovery*. *D'Elormie* in *Bridal Ballad* appears to have been borrowed from G. P. R.

(though Poe is said to have had the poet Quarles in mind). *Littleton Barry*, a pseudonym adopted by Poe with several of his publications in the *Broadway Journal* in 1845, suggests the influence of Thackeray's *Barry Lyndon* (first published in 1844). *E. A. Perry*, the name assumed by Poe while a soldier in the United States army, was borrowed in part from a colleague of his at the University of Virginia, Sidney A. Perry (see Professor Harrison's *New Glimpses of Poe*, New York, 1901, the first of the facsimiles opposite p. 40).

* *Politian*, *Castiglione*, and *Alessandra Scala* are all mentioned by Poe in his *Pinakidia* published in the *Southern Literary Messenger* in 1836 shortly after the publication of *Politian* (see the *Virginia Poe*, XIV, pp. 48, 65). De Broglie also is mentioned by him in one of his reviews printed in 1841 (*Virginia Poe*, X, p. 134). Poe was fond of contemporary names. I have already mentioned *Dupin* and *Mary Rogers*. To these may be added *Landor* (in *Landor's Cottage*), and *Canning* (*Sir Launcelot Canning*, author of the apocryphal *Mad Trist* in *The Fall of the House of Usher*),—though it is barely possible that Poe in the last instance was playing upon the Chatterton tradition of "Mastre William Canyne."

James's novel *De L'Orme* (1830).⁹ *Ulalume* was, I imagine, suggested by *Eulalie*, to which it is a sort of counterpart, the one connoting grief and gloom, the other lightsomeness and glee. *Annabel Lee* may have been influenced by the title of P. P. Cooke's *Rosalie Lee*, concerning which Poe and Cooke exchanged letters in 1846;¹⁰ and the first half of the name was possibly inspired in part by his friendship for Mrs. Richmond, whom he knew as "Annie."

Yaanek in *Ulalume* is, I take it, only a variant spelling of *Janik*, a Turkish district in Trebizond. *Auber* in the same poem, may have been suggested by the French *Aube*.¹¹

Nesace, finally, queen of Al Aaraaf, is, I venture to believe, Poe's adaptation of the name *Nausikaa*. A Latin spelling, *Nausicæ*, if pronounced and accented in English fashion, gives us something approximating very nearly the form that Poe adopts. Both *Nesace* and *Nausikaa*, it may be noted, dwelt upon an island, both symbolized beauty of person as well as of character, both were surrounded by a train of admiring handmaidens.

There are still other names—among them *Nis*¹² (in *The Valley of Unrest*), *Trevanian* (in *Ligeia*), and the German names, *Berlifizing* and *Metzengerstein*—for which I have no satisfactory guess to offer, but think it probable that these, too, will ultimately be found to have originated elsewhere than in Poe's fancy. The

⁹ Poe used the name also in the first draft of his extravaganza, *The Man that Was Used Up*, which appeared in *Burton's Magazine* (v, p. 69) shortly after Poe had reviewed there one of James's books which mentioned on its title-page the author's *De L'Orme* (*Burton's*, v, pp. 60-61). James perhaps took the name from the famous French courtezan, Marion Delorme.

¹⁰ Woodberry, II, pp. 206, 210.

¹¹ Poe makes the name rhyme with *October*.

¹² *Nis* occurs in Norse mythology. But I have a theory that Poe means it merely as a play upon the word *sin* (note the similar inversion in the name *Oldeb*, who turns out to be *Bedlo*—in Poe's *Tale of the Ragged Mountains*). "The Valley of Unrest" is not, to be sure, a place sacred only to the wicked dead, but in all Poe's pictures of the realm of shades the notion of punishment is more or less prominent. *The City in the Sea*, it may be noted, a companion piece to *The Valley of Unrest*, bore in one of its earlier drafts the title "The City of Sin."

situation is very much the same as with the plots of Poe's stories, which (as Poe's biographers have succeeded in showing), were based almost invariably either upon his own observation or upon his reading in contemporary literature.

III. POE'S LECTURES IN BALTIMORE AND PHILADELPHIA

Professor Woodberry (II, p. 48) mentions the tradition that Poe "made his début as a lecturer" in Baltimore and "at some time during the summer" of 1843. It would appear, however, from the newspapers of Baltimore, that Poe did not lecture in that city until January 31, 1844. Of his lecture there on this date, the *Baltimore Sun* published on the morning of the day on which the lecture was to be delivered the following editorial comment: "It will be seen by a notice in another part of our paper, that the lecture of Mr. Poe, on 'American Poetry,' heretofore announced, will be delivered this evening, in the Egyptian Saloon of Odd Fellows' Hall. The name of the lecturer, the subject of the lecture, and the well-known adaptation of the talents of the one to the material of the other, form a combination of attractions which will irresistibly result in a crowded audience—and our word for it a delighted one."—There was also an editorial notice by Dr. J. Evans Snodgrass in the *Baltimore Saturday Visiter* of February 3, 1844,—four days after the lecture was delivered—which ran in part as follows: "Edgar A. Poe delivered a lecture in Odd-Fellows Hall, on Wednesday evening—theme 'American poetry.' He was very entertaining, and enforced his views well—though to some of them we cannot assent. For instance—that the inculcation of truth is not the highest aim of poetry! He was witheringly severe upon Rufus W. Griswold."

Shortly before the Baltimore lecture, Poe had appeared a second time in Philadelphia, his first lecture there having been delivered on November 25, 1843. Of this second lecture—delivered on January 10, 1844—the editor of the *Philadelphia United States Gazette*, J. R. Chandler, published this compli-

mentary announcement on January 8, 1844: "We learn that Edgar A. Poe, Esq., has consented to repeat, at the Museum, on Wednesday night, his admired lecture on the Poets and Poetry of America. His first lecture was attended by one of the largest and most fashionable audiences of the season; and the Museum will doubtless be crowded by hundreds who were then unable to gain admission."

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ZWEI GEDICHTE VON GOETHE¹

II. MIGNON

Selbst ein Terminus ante wäre für das Blutlied festzulegen—wenn nämlich die Entstehung des das vierte Buch in Wilhelm Meisters Sendung eröffnenden Gedichts zeitlich feststände. In einer Arbeit über Goethes Mondlied habe ich darauf hingewiesen, wie er im Jahre 1775 durch die in Wielands "Mönch und Nonne" (*Deutscher Merkur*, April, 1775, S. 8) vor kommenden Verse

Sie wallen führerlos daher
Von Osten sie, von Westen er. . . .

und andere ebendort an Gerstenbergs Gedicht eines Skalden (1766) erinnert worden, und infolgedessen zahlreiche Züge daraus—der volle Beweis wird an anderer Stelle geliefert werden—in die erste Urfaustszene übergegangen waren. Dieser Vorgang wiederholt sich bei der Lektüre des Gedichtes *Die Zeit* (M. L. N., xxviii, 43). Die Verse

Wir wogen hin, wir wogen her,
Zwar schwebend auch, doch stürzend mehr

und manche andere darin gemahnten unmittelbar an Gerstenbergs von Ossian stark beeinflusstes Gedicht (insbesondere wieder an die Zeilen

Wer schreitet königlich daher
In Vingolfs Hayn, am sanfern Meer?),

¹ Vgl. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxviii, 43 ff.

und so weist denn das Gedicht *Mignon* deutliche Spuren aus dem Gedicht *Die Zeit*, aus Vossens *Leibeigenschaft*, vor allem aus Gerstenbergs *Lied eines Skalden*, aber auch, übers Kreuz, aus Wielands *Mönch und Nonne*, auf.

In Mignons Lied wird zuerst ihre Heimat geschildert, dann der Weg, der dahinführt: die nordische Nebelsphäre bildet die Schwelle zum südlichen Paradiese. Den geographischen Kontrast hatte Goethe aus einem kulturellen umgebildet, während Schiller diesen später im Eleusischen Fest beibehalten hat. Der vierte Gesang des Skaldenliedes beginnt:²

Und doch—leichtgläubiges Gefühl!—
Ist alles diesz mehr als ein Gaukelspiel?
Kann diesz die Stätte seyn, wo wir
Ins Thal des Schweigens flohn? Kaum glaub ich dir!
Wie reizend, wie bezaubernd lacht
Die heitere Gegend! wie voll sanfter Pracht!
In schöner Majestat, in reiferm Strahle
Glänzt diese Sonne! Milder flieszt vom Thale
Mir fremder Blüthen Frühlingsduft;
Und Balsameister ströhnen durch die Luft,
Unübersehlich malt die Blumen-Flur
Sich meinem Aug, und die Natur
Ist rings' umher ein Garten! Welcher Gott
Schmiegt eine Wildnis unter das Gebot
Der Schönheit, Ordnung, Fruchtbarkeit?
Wer ists, der Wüsteneyn gebeut,
Sich in entfernter Sonnen Glut zu tauchen,
Und unbekannte Spezereyn zu hauchen?—

biegt dann folgendermaßen um:

Ha! nicht also, im festlichen Gewand,
Grüszt ich dich einst, mein mütterliches Land!
Unfreundlich, ungeschmückt, und rauh und wüste,
Im trüben Dunkel schauerte die Küste;
Kein Himmel leuchtete mild durch den Hayn;
Kein Tag der Aehren lud zu Freuden ein;
In Hölen lauschte Graun und Meuterey
Und was am Ufer scholl, war Kriegsgeschrey.
Das Weib der Ehe trat mit Helm und Speer,
Und neben ihr, von blutger Rüstung schwer,
Die blühende Tochter fürchterlich einher—

um schlieslich wieder zurückzukehren:

O wie weit anmuthsvoller schreitet,
Von acht geliebten Kindern hold begleitet,
Dort jene Mutter durch den Schattengang,
In dessen Hecken friedlicher Gesang
Ertönt, wo goldnes Obst um sie entsprang. . . .

² Vgl. dazu *Urfaust*, 101 ff.

³ Vgl. *Urfaust*, 543.

Goethe hatte natürlich auch deutlich erkannt wie stark Gerstenbergs Skaldenlied von Tassos *Befreitem Jerusalem* beeinfluszt war: seine Schilderung Italiens schlieszt sich darum noch näher an die Schilderungen bei Tasso an. Ich zitiere nach Heinse's Übersetzung und Auszug in der *Iris* (Werke hrsgg. von Schüddekopf III, 1, 319). Der Sohn des Königs von England erzählt von den Erlebnissen der fünfzig gefangenen Ritter:

"Endlich langten wir an. . . . Damals war es ein fruchtbar schönes Land, jetzt ist es schweflicht heiszes Gewässer, eine dürre Lache; und rund herum eine schwere Luft und eine Schwüle von Fäulniz. Hier ist die *Luft* *gland*, und der *Himmel* *heiter*, und *froh* die *Bäume* und die Wiesen, wo zwischen den lieblichen *Myrthen* ein Quell entspringt. . . . Sanfter Schlummer senkt sich in den Schoosz der Blumen herab . . . von *Marmor* und *Gold* will ich schweigen, Kunst und Arbeit ist wunderbar daran. . . ."

Nachher kommen Ubald und Dano zu dem Greise, der ihnen die Mittel weist, den gefangnen Rinaldo zu befreien (326):

"Indem er so mit ihnen sprach, gelangt er an den Ort, wo er seine *Wohnung* hat. Diese hatte die Gestalt einer weiten geräumigen Höhle, die *Kammern* und *Säle* in sich enthielt. Alles kostbare, das Theuerste, was die Erde in ihren reichen Adern nährt, glänzt daselbst, und ieder Zierrath ist gebohren. . . ."

Auf dem Wege, den sie nun zu durchmessen haben, gibt es manche Abenteuer zu bestehen: Wie der Gotthard mit seinen Schrecken Italiens Schwelle behütet, so haben die Ritter einen steilen Berg zu ersteigen und auf dem Pasz mit Drachen und Löwen und andern Ungeheuern zu kämpfen (337), ehe sie in das gelobte Land kommen:

"Die nunmehr siegenden Helden gewinnen den Rücken des Bergs ohne Anstossz, auszer dasz das Eis und die Steilheit der Pfade ihren Gang ein wenig verzögert. Als sie aber den Schnee durchgewadet, und die steilen Klippen zurückgelegt hatten, fanden sie einen schönen lauen Frühlingshimmel, und die Ebene weit und offen. Immer frische geruchreiche Lüfte wehen hier unveränderlich. . . . Und nicht wie anderwärts wechseln Kälte und Hitze, Wolken und Heiterkeit in diesen Fluren ab, immer kleidet sich der Himmel in den reinsten Glanz. . . . An dem See liegt der schöne

Pallast.⁴ . . . Rund ist das reiche Gebäude. . . . Figuren waren in das Metall der königlichen Thore gegraben . . . es eröffnet sich ihnen der Garten in *froher* Gestalt. . . . Die Luft, nichts anderes, ist die Wirkung der Zauberin, die Luft, die die Bäume blühend macht. *Ewig dauert die Frucht mit ewiger Blüthe*, und während die eine hervorbricht, reift die andre. Auf dem nämlichen Stamm, und zwischen den nämlichen Blättern altert die Feige über der entstehenden Feige. An einem Zweige hangen, einer mit goldner Schaale, der andre mit grüner, der neue und der alte Apfel. In den grünen Zweigen⁵ singen schöne Vögel . . . die Luft murmelt der harmonische Wind begleitet sie. . . ."

Hausten auch hier Drachen über der Schwelle zu dem Paradiese, so steht doch die entsprechende Schilderung bei Gerstenberg noch näher: es ist wirklich das nordische Drachengeschlecht, das man sich nach der Bemerkung in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* in den Felsenklüften des Gotthard wohnen denkt (Ende des 5. Gesangs):

Vergebens verletzt der Sohn des Odin
Das Ungeheuer mit triefendem Stahl!
Vergebens würgt auf seinem Riesengange
Der Helden-Same des Hlodon
Den Zwillingswolf, und die Midgardische Schlange!
Sie alle, die Götter, die Helden, sie alle
Sind hingegossen dem Falle
Furchtbar billt aus dampfender Grotte
Mit weitgeöffnetem Schlund
Hinter dem fallenden Gotte
Garm der Höllenhund!

Und besser als der Löwe des Orients paszte der Wolf des Nordens hierhin, der schon im dritten Gesang erwähnt war:

Schon öffnen Endils Wölfe
Auf meinen Feind den giergen Schlund!
Ach mir Unglücklichen! Da schlüpft
Die Ferse mir im schwarzen Blut!
Da stürz ich hin, und über mich—

freilich jetzt noch nicht "die Fluth," wohl aber im Gedicht *Die Zeit*:

⁴ Mignons Heimat war am Lago Maggiore gedacht.
⁵ Sollte hier nicht der Grund liegen, darum Goethe ursprünglich schrieb "im grünen Laub die Gold-Orangen Glühn"? Nachher erschien die Angabe doch zu gewagt, und es wurde das unbestimmtere, aber auch schönere "im dunklen Laub" dafür eingesetzt.

Und andre stürzt mit schneller Wut
Zum Abgrund deine wilde Fluth.

Das Drachengeschlecht wird die "alte Brut" genannt: Der eine Pferdeknecht bei Voss will dem Junker den roten Hahn aufs Dach setzen, der andere aber wirft ein:

Aber, Michel, die Kinder!

und erhält zur Antwort:

Die Wolfsbrut? Fällt denn der Apfel
Weit vom Stamm? Und heult sie nicht schon mit
den Alten, die Wolfsbrut?
Gieng in den Tannen nicht gestern der Herr Hof-
meister, und weinte?

"Was hat man dir, du armes Kind gethan!" In der zweiten Idylle, in dem Freiheitsliede, beginnt die dritte Strophe:

Der du zur Freyheit uns erhest,
Komm her, und schau! Dort glüht das Obst,
Das seinen Baum beschwert!
Dort brüllen Rinder ohne Zahl!
Dort blücken Schafe durch das Thal!
Dort stampft im Klee das Pferd.

Zwei Strophen darauf folgen die Verse, die oben als Vorbild für die Worte des Bettlers in der Faustszene vor dem Thore nachgewiesen sind: Goethe verrät sich uns selbst, indem er an beiden Stellen denselben Ausdruck braucht:

Und Marmor-Bilder stehn und sehn mich an
Was hat man dir, du armes Kind gethan?

Ihr guten Herrn, ihr schönen Frauen,
So wohlgeputzt und backenroth,
Belieb' es euch mich anzuschauen,
Und seht^{*} und mildert meine Not!

Angesichts der Marmorbilder⁷ denkt man natürlich an Vossens Verse:

Die Kinder rund und roth;
Und schenken froh dem bleichen Mann . . .
Ihr kleines Vesperbrodt.

* Statt "seht" sollte es hier lieber "steht" heißen—Goethe wird kaum haben sagen wollen: und seht zu, dasz ihr meine Not lindert.

⁷ Die bei Goethe, soviel ich sehe, ungewöhnliche Schreibung "Marmor-Bilder" (W.A., 52, 3) lehnt sich gewiss an Gerstenbergs Nord-Sturm, Stunden-Thron, Wasser-Scene, Helden-Auge, Brand-Altar, Blumen-Flur, Geister-Welt (vgl. *Urfaust*, 90, aus derselben Quelle!), Donner-Wagen, an.

Mignon sieht das alles in einer Vision, ebenso wie der fröhliche Schnitter in seinem Lied ein Zukunftsland sich malt, oder vielmehr nicht sich, sondern demjenigen, der ihn und sein Mädchen von dem drückenden Joch der Knechtschaft befreit hat—genau so wie Mignon ihr Lied an ihren Befreier richtet.

Aus Wielands Gedicht endlich ergab sich die Anregung zu den Versen

Kennst du den Berg und seinen Wolkensteg?
Das Maulthier sucht im Nebel seinen Weg. . . .

und ebendorther hätte die Veranlassung kommen können, den Weg in das Land der Liebe so zu schildern wie es in der letzten Strophe geschehen ist. Die Schutzgeister der beiden Liebenden erscheinen ihnen des Nachts dreimal hintereinander und sagen:

Hört an! Dort hinter jenem Hayn
Erhebt sich zwischen öden Bergen
Der kahle schrofe Mittelstein. . . .
Ein feste Burg war's hiebevor,
Noch ragen stattliche Ruinen,
Aus wilden Büschen hoch empor,
Die sollen euch zur Zuflucht dienen!
Dort fliehet hin, dort sollt ihr ruhn;
Das Übrige wird die Liebe thun. . . .

Vgl. den Refrain in *Mignon*.

Damit sie "eilen und nicht säumen" reicht ihnen der Genius—"ein Englein" wird er genannt und auch sonst so geschildert, dasz man glaubt, man habe die kleine Mignon, auf die Clärchens späterer Name Serafina paszt, vor sich—

Sein weiszes Händchen *unersucht*,
Zum Unterpfand, auf ihrer Flucht
Mit sicherem Geleit zu dienen.

Sixt entschlieszt sich nun auch,

Durch zwanzig Ritter-Görgens-Drachen
Den Weg zu seinem Nönnchen machen. . . .

Clärchen kämpft einen harten Kampf mit sich selbst. Die Schilderung der Gewissensqualen vor ihrem Fall⁸ geschieht, wie so manches

* Wir wissen seit Kettners Nachweis, *Zs.f.d.Ph.*, 20, 230 ff., dasz sie bei der Domszene des Faust mitgeholfen hat. Auch habe ich an anderer Stelle gezeigt, dasz sich im Wilhelm Meister noch mehr Reminiszenzen an Wielands Gedicht finden.

andere in dem Gedicht, in Anlehnung an Gertenberg, und gerade an die Stelle, die oben als Nachweis für die Verse "In Höhlen wohnt der Drachen alte Brut" herausgehoben ist:

Die Hölle öffnet gegen dich
Den düstern Flammenschlund . . .

Furchtbar billt aus dampfender Grotte
Mit weit geöffnetem Schlund
Hinter dem fallenden Gotte
Garm der Höllen Hund!

Schlieszlich aber zog Sixt mit dreymal stärkeren Kräften Ihr liebend Herz dem seinen nach,⁹ sie beschlieszt denselben Weg wie er zu ziehen:

Auf ungebahnten Pfaden keuchen
Die Pilgrime der Liebe fort . . .
Sie wallen führerlos¹⁰ daher . . .

Sixt hat

Den hohen Berg bereits erstiegen
Das Ende seiner schweren Pein. . . .
Da steht er, zieht mit langen Zügen
Die Luft der Freyheit wieder ein.
Nachdem er lang ein Aftewesen
Das die Natur nicht kennt gewesen,
Welch eine Wollust, Mensch zu seyn!¹¹

Aber er findet Clärchen nicht sobald, und irrt "unruhvoll"¹² umher,

den Weg zu wallen
Auf dem sein Nönnchen kommen soll.
Er ruft ihr laut; die Felsen hallen
Den Ruf zurücke, Clärchen schallt
Vervielfacht durch den Fichtenwald,

"durch den," freilich nur nach *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, "die schäumende Reusz über Felstenstürze sich von Zeit zu Zeit sehen liesz"

Man sieht, es bleibt kaum ein Zug in Goethes Gedicht, der im obigen nicht nachgewiesen

⁹ Der Kampf der Engel des Lichts mit den Dämonen der Finsternis am Ende von *Faust*, II, ist in den folgenden Versen ebenfalls schon enthalten. Vgl. auch den Schlusz: Der beiden Verklärung.

¹⁰ Wie die Maultiere, die ihren Weg selbst suchen.

¹¹ Vgl. *Faust*, 940, 1022 ff., u.s.w.

¹² *Urfaust*, 703.

wäre. Der eigenartige Zusammenhang der Quellen unter sich hat es mit sich gebracht, dasz einige von den entlehnten Zügen mehrfach in diesen Quellen begegnete. Häufiger natürlich assoziierte Goethes Phantasie heterogene Züge der Quellen zu einem einheitlichen Bilde. Dafür noch ein markantes Beispiel. Oben sind die Verse

Und Marmorbilder stehn und sehn mich an:
Was hat man dir, du armes Kind gethan?

solchen aus Vossens Idylle und aus dem Faust verglichen. Die letzteren waren damals aber noch nicht vorhanden, und obwohl die andern Daten vollkommen ausreichten, die Entstehung des Bildes vor dem geistigen Auge des Dichters herbeizuführen, so musz doch ein ferneres aufgedeckt werden, in einem Passus, der Goethe noch andere Anregungen geboten hat.

Clärchen ist (Märzheft des *Merkur*, S. 201) in den Mönch verliebt, und umso heftiger je strenger sie sich kasteit; es geht ihr wie Faust in Wald und Höhle und wie Gretchen am Spinnrade:

Im Tempel selbst, am höchsten Fest,¹³
Schwebt Sixtens theures Bild ihr immer¹⁴
Vor ihrer Stirn; im Speisezimmer,
In jedem Kreuzgang, jedem Saal,
An jeder Wand hängts überall¹⁵

¹³ Vgl. *Faust*, 3334 f.

¹⁴ WA. I, 99, 3 f., zu Strophe 3: "Sie wallen führerlos daher, Von Osten sie, von Westen er. . . . Unruhvoll steigt Sixt herab . . . doch von der theuren Geliebten . . . Gestalt Ist nichts . . . zu sehen. Schon will ihm Sinn und Muth vergehen, Als ihm, indem er Thal und Höhen Wie ein verrückter Mensch durchschweift, Auf einmal. . . . Clärchen in die Arme läuft."—und WA, 4, 204, dazu dann *Merkur* Aprilheft 10, 8 f. und oben den letzten Vers.

¹⁵ Im Schlosse zu Dux sah Goethe ein Bild, einen mit vielen Söhnen gesegneten Vorfahren Wallenstein's, wie sie zu Karl IV. hinreiten, darstellend. Das erinnerte ihn zusammen mit dem vielgestaltigen Ausdruck der Liebe und Zuneigung, der ihm zum 70. Geburtstage zuteil geworden, an obige Stelle und zugleich an Gleims Marianne: "Ein Bild ist es. . . . Er sieht mit Freuden In ihrer Hand. Es war gehüllt in Gold und Seiden. Auswendig stand: Von meinen zärtlich treuen Thränen Entsteht ein Bach. . . ." So findet man denn in dem

Gemahlt, geschnitzt, mit einem Schimmer
Von Gold ums Haupt; ihn musz sie sehn¹⁴
Wohin sich ihre Blicke lenken¹⁵
Und mit ihm auf und nieder gehn. . . .
Eh konnte sie sich selbst verlieren¹⁶
Als dem geliebten Bild entfliehn. . . .¹⁷

Ein paar Seiten weiter (S. 204) heiszt es nun:

Da sitz bey mattem Lampenschein
Das arme Kind in seiner Zelle,
Blasz, wie bey düstrer Mondeshelle
Ein Geist auf einem Leichenstein. . . .

Doch nun genug.

Ich weisz nicht, ob die Entstehungszeit von Mignons Lied einigermaßen feststeht: Wenn nicht, so werden wir sie zusammen mit denjenigen des Blutlieds etwa in den Anfang Februar 1783 setzen. Auch das Lied "Der Schäfer putzte sich zum Tanz" wird um dieselbe Zeit entstanden und tatsächlich nur der Ökonomie halber—es geht unmittelbar vorher die Ballade "Der Sänger"—nicht aufgenom-

Gedicht "Die Feier des achtundzwanzigsten Augusts dankbar zu erwideren" Reminiszenzen aus beiden älteren Gedichten. Es beginnt "Sah gemahlt, in Gold und Rahmen. . . . zu V. 13 ff vgl. Gleim, 105 ff., 131 ff., und Wieland T.M. April 1775, 8, 1 ff., 12, 2 ff., 13, 1 ff., 14, 10 ff., zu V. 17, 18, 21, ff.

¹⁴ Vgl. *Urfaust*, 1082 ff.

¹⁵ Vgl. Petrarkas Sonett, *Ove ch' i' posi gli occhi lassi ogiri*.

¹⁶ Vgl. *Urfaust*, 1105 und dazu wieder Anmerkung 14 oben. Minor bemerkte I, 173: "Sie möchte ihn in Armen halten und an seinen Küssen ersticken. Das will natürlich der Schluszvers sagen, nicht: 'auf die Gefahr hin zu vergehen.' Sagt doch Gretchen später noch zu Faust (die Worte *Urfaust*, Kerker, 45 ff.)." Worauf sich das "natürlich" gründet, weisz ich nicht, und ebensowenig, wie mit dem Zitat aus Kerker 45 ff. etwas bewiesen werden kann; an letzterer Stelle steht: "als wolltest du mich ersticken," an ersterer "vergehen sollt." Der Sinn ist "und sollte ich an seinen Küssen vergehen." Offenbar ist die Konstruktion derjenigen in der 20. Strophe von Gleims Marianne nachgebildet, die man sich auch erst zurechtlegen hat: "Weil von den Rosen seiner Wangen ein langer Bart herabhangt, und, wie sie vergangen, gesehen ward." Wie hier das Subjekt *es* zu ergänzen ist, so dort *ihn*. Vgl. Gleim v. 13 ff., mit *Urfaust*, 799, *Faust*, 3726 ff.; Gleim 113 ff. mit *Urfaust* 1066 ff., und wieder Gleim 133 ff.; Gleim 193 ff. mit *Urfaust* 1281 ff., 1290, 1297.

¹⁷ Vgl. oben zu Anm. 14.

men sein. Wie es in die Erzählung eingeführt wird, das ähnelt ja auch durchaus den entsprechenden Versen bei Voss.

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CONCERNING THE TYPE BEAU-PÈRE, BELLE-MÈRE

Short accounts have hitherto been given of the introduction into modern French of the actual words of step- and law-relationship.¹ The substitution of *beau-père* for *suire* and *parastre*, of *beau-frère* for *frerastre* and *serorge*, etc., has been in the main correctly, if succinctly, explained. A word is due, however, regarding the dates assigned to these words in their actual acceptation. The *Dictionnaire Général*, which makes some attempt to cite the earliest attested use of its words, assigns the following dates as the earliest obtainable; the discrepancy in time will be noticed at once: *beau-père* (1549); *belle-mère* (1454); *beau-frère* (1549); *belle-sœur* (XVe S.); *beau-fils* (1611); *belle-fille* (1611). These dates are subject to correction. Even from a cursory glance at some of the prominent literary monuments, one will note in a single work examples, earlier than 1549, of most of these words.²

The use of these words as a class is of much earlier date, and there is no such disparity between the dates of their appearance as the citations of the *Dict. Gén.* would indicate. The earliest date may be approximately determined in three ways. A rather recent dissertation, as it incidentally touches our subject, attacks the problem from the side of "direct address" alone.³ The results of this

¹ Darmesteter, *Formation des mots composés*; Tapolet, *Verwandtschaftsnamen*; Du Cange, *Gloss.*, et al.

² Jean Le Maire, *Illust. de Gaule* (circ. 1510), ed. Stecher: *beau père*, I, 341; *beau frère*, 81; *belle mère*, 192; *belle sœur*, 310.

³ W. A. Stowell, *Old-French Titles of Respect in Direct Address*, Baltimore, 1909.

method would be of doubtful value in ascertaining the dates of our words: the moment when *beau-père*, etc., first possessed in *direct discourse* the connotation of relationship can never be determined.

It is undoubtedly true that words of step-kinship ending in the suffix *-aster* had, in the Middle Ages, a distinctly pejorative meaning. From words in *-aster* the depreciative connotation spread to the other words of legal relationship. This pejoration has been ascribed to some inherent quality of the suffix, which would be traced back as far as the Latin of Plautus.⁴ The suffix *-aster*, meaning 'incomplete resemblance to, inferior to,' then 'bad, cruel,' would have affected the meaning of the word-stem. Whether this pejorative meaning came from an original quality of the suffix, or was transferred to it from association with words of kinship that were in bad repute, one cannot venture to state categorically. The latter view seems to be in closer keeping with what we know of the Latin suffix and with semasiological processes.

It seems certain to us, however, that in the subsequent treatment of *-aster*, especially in the words under discussion, the suffix had a depreciative sense that increased with age. The words of law-relationship for the most part (save *gendre* and *bru*), fell into disrepute together with the words of step-kinship, probably by association with them—*asinus asinum fricat*.

Such pejorative sense in words of ordinary use naturally became intolerable. Other words took their place, growing out of a custom of courteous address. Prof. Stowell has shown, by many well-chosen examples, that *beau-père*, etc., in their actual acceptation, are derived from an extremely common form of polite salutation.⁵ We suggest that *beau*, *belle*, prefixing the words of immediate family relationship, titles, etc., in the stereotyped medieval

⁴Cf. F. Seck, "Das Roman, Suffix *-aster*, *-astrum*," *ALL.*, I, 39; F. F. Cooper, *Word Formation in the Roman Sermon Plebeius*, N. Y., 1895. Bréal unhesitatingly assigns to the suffix a pejorative sense "qui se montre déjà en latin." (*Sémantique*, p. 43.)

⁵Stowell, *op. cit.*, p. 147 seq.

formulas, approximated our ancient *good my lord, fair sister*, etc.

A sufficiently illuminating, if uncited, commentary on this use of *beau* in trite formulas of respect, is found in the following passage from Chrétien de Troyes.⁶ The *jeu de mots* in the last two verses indicates a satiric appreciation of the painful triteness of the word *beau* in titles of polite address.

Par quel non je t'apelerei?—
Sire, fait il, jel vos dirai:
J'ai nom *biax fils*.—*Beax fils* as ores?
Je cuit bien que tu as ancores
Un autre non.—Sire, par foi
J'ai nom *biau frere*.—Bien t'an croi;
Mais se tu me vials dire voir,
Ton droit non voldrai ge savoir.—
Sire, fet il, bien vos puis dire
Qu'a mon droit non ai nom *biau sire*.—
Si m'aist dex ei a *biau* non.
As an tu plus?

As the O.Fr. words of quasi-kinship gained in depreciative force, the modern terms began to usurp their place, gradually, and not as the sudden or conscious act of the grammarians. By a transference of meaning, the adjective denoting courtesy in direct address assumed an overt function in compound words of relationship, the use being later definitely fixed, by hyphenation, as a usage.

It is impossible to say just what was the psychological process involved. In the short notices hitherto given, two theories have been suggested, if not proposed, by the terms of the explanation. Burguy, when discussing the O.Fr. words, offered the following explanation: "Les mots avec cette terminaison *-astre* . . . qui, dans le principe, ne désignaient que la parenté, l'alliance, prirent peu à peu une signification péjorative, et par opposition à la *méchante* marâtre, on donna hypocoristiquement à la *bonne* marâtre, le nom de belle-mère, c-à-d. dans le sens primitif de *bellus*, cher, chère mère, et ainsi des autres."⁷

This explanation would propose either an unconscious reversion of a word to a primitive

⁶*Contes del Graal. Abdruck d. Handschrift Paris, franc. 794, vv. 343 seq.*

⁷*Gramm.*, III, 243.

meaning, or absurdly enough in the case of *beau*, a popular recognition of some such etymology as *beau* < *bellum* < *ben-lum* < *bon-(um)lum*.

Littré (*Dict.*) does not rely upon any inherent meaning of *beau* to explain how it came to be accepted in connection with words of family: ". . . la langue s'est sentie inclinée à chercher une périphrase, et elle l'a trouvée dans l'usage ancien qui faisait de *beau* un terme d'affection, surtout entre parents."

Disregarding the phrase "la langue s'est sentie inclinée à chercher," a manner of speaking that Bréal would class with such "illusions" as "tendances des mots" and "autres tendances non moins imaginaires,"⁸ we believe the explanation to approximate the truth.

In spite of the stereotyped use of the epithet *beau* in the later Middle Ages, its note of affection is very often evident, in the sense of 'dear.' This sentiment is felt in the affectionate warnings of Saint Louis to his son: "Biau filz, biau filz."⁹ Furthermore, very often associated with the iterative epithet *cher*, it would assimilate some of the quality of the latter adjective: "bels sire chiers" (*Rol.* v. 1693), "biaus amis chiers" (*Fab.*, Mont. et Ray., V, 107).

The use of *beau-père*, etc., antedates the citations of the *Dict. Gén.* and our own earlier ones of Jean Le Maire. The O.Fr. words of both step- and law-kinship were in force in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, while *beau*, *belle* still continued in titles of respect in direct address. A rigorous search of many documents and literary monuments of the last quarter of the fourteenth century fails to reveal the use of *beau-père*, etc., in their actual meaning. In our search we have dealt not only with direct address, but also with works where the narrative *third person* is most used. In indirect speech only would the use of *beau-père*—in the proper context—be indubitable proof of its meaning "step-father, father-in-law."

In the dissertation referred to above, we

⁸ *Essai de Sémantique*, 4e éd., p. 99.

⁹ *Joinville*, ed. Fr. Michel, p. 236.

find the following: "Furthermore, since *bele suer*, *beaus fils*, and *belle fille* were employed during this period to designate a relationship by marriage. . . ." A footnote gives the following citations: "Entendés ça, soer bele. *Fabliaux*, II, 227 (noble lady to sister-in-law) —Thiebaut, biaus fils, qui longue voie va. *O. F. N.*, p. 162 (noble to son-in-law)."¹⁰

From the very fact that the author has elsewhere shown (p. 147 seq.) that *beau*, *belle*, were used almost indiscriminately with words of immediate family relationship, in honorific titles of address, there is surely no psychological process that can differentiate the citations here given from other contemporary titles of courtesy, in which *beau*, *belle*, are epithetic, especially when no speech of the third person confirms such use for the period (to 1350). Even had "*Les Honneurs de la Cour*, of a date slightly later than the period treated," designated *beau* as a word to be used in *composés* of relationship, we see no relevancy to the period treated. The citations, besides being in direct address, are from the aristocratic language of chivalry, which, as Bréal shows, is conservative, slow to adopt neologisms.¹¹ Unfortunately, the citation from the *Honn. d. l. Cour*, cited by Sainte-Palaye from ms., contains no such command. The sentence "Quant les roys et roynes, dueqs, duchesses, princesses, ont des parents, les doivent appeler beaux" merely designates the *formula of respect* which the author has elsewhere made plain: *parents* may signify "cousin, aunt, uncle," as well as "mother, father, brother."

Froissart and his contemporaries of the last years of the fourteenth century cling to the O.Fr. forms. *Beau* is still used in titles of respect between relatives, friends, and nobles, while the O.Fr. *serourge*, for example, designates the brother-in-law in every case where he has occasion to use the word—in sum, sixteen times in the first three volumes.¹²

It suffices to cite only two other examples

¹⁰ Stowell, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

¹¹ Bréal, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

¹² *Chroniques*, p. p. Siméon Luce, Paris, 1874. *Biaus oncles* II, 127; *biaus nies* II, 16; *biau frere* II, 234 (to own brother); *biau signeur* V, 33; etc.

from the scores we have assembled for this period. The *Chronique de J. de Stavelot* (p. 529) also makes use of the O.Fr. *soir* (*socerus*, father-in-law): "son soir, pere de sa femme." As late as 1417 we find the same word in legal use: "Le suppliant gendre de Pierre Fontan dist et depose pour et a l'intention dudit Pierre Fontan son seigneur ou sogre."¹³ The O.Fr. words of step-relationship alone are used at this date. We cite but a single case from popular record: "De la filatre saint Blaise une cote fourree d'escureux."¹⁴

About the beginning of the fifteenth century, however, a certain hesitation is becoming evident in the use of these words. The usual doubt with respect to neologisms is apparent, and many authors adopted paraphrases to avoid the difficulty.¹⁵

In the first quarter of the century, the Mod. Fr. words of relationship compounded with *beau*, *belle*, are recorded, still hesitatingly, as is shown by the frequent use of the O.Fr. forms. The earliest cases we have been able to find are from the *Chroniques* of Enguerrand de Monstrelet.¹⁶ Illustrating in one and the same work the use of both O.Fr. and Mod.Fr. forms, are the following citations: p. 125, "ou il eut aucun parlement avec le duc Guillaume son serourge . . . lequel serourge retourna en la ville d'Arras."—p. 127, "et tantost apres ladictes festes accomplies, la duchesse de Hollande, avec son beau-frere. . . ."—p. 170, "et adonques ladicie duchesse Jehan son filz et la royne d'Angleterre, sa belle-fille. . . ."¹⁷

¹³ *J. J.*, 170, p. 33.

¹⁴ *Inv. du Juif Joseph*, ann. 1394.

¹⁵ Eust. Deschamps, *Ouv. compl.* (SATF.), IX, p. 183: "monseigneur Descalles, frère de la femme dudit Edouard." This circumlocution occurs several times in the same volume: pp. 104, 114, 123, 190.—Bouicaut, *Le livre des faicts*, II, 217: "et aussi Mauvinet leur frère de mère."—Commynes, *Mém.*, p. 230, etc.

¹⁶ Douët-D'Arlac, v. I, *Soc. de l'Hist. de Fr.*, Paris, 1857. The composition of the *Chroniques* stretched over the third and fourth decades of the century.

¹⁷ In the same work are other examples of the modern forms, the relationship being historically authenticated: *belle-fille*, p. 168; *beau-filz*, pp. 172, 176; *beau-frere*, pp. 259, 350, 352, 353. The O. Fr. form *serourge* again occurs on page 353, in place of *beau-frère*.

The history of these words of relationship in France shows clearly enough at what period they were accepted into good currency, sufficiently to put themselves indubitably in the written records of the language. Two means still remain to check up the results obtained,—the records of the passage of these Mod.Fr. words of quasi-relationship into the Celtic and the Dutch.

It has been said in a passing notice of the matter, that these words of legal relationship were borrowed from the Celtic.¹⁸ The opposite is true; the Breton and Welsh translated these words from the French. The borrowing has been mentioned briefly by Tappolet.¹⁹

Among the modern Welsh words of step-relationship are compounds of the words of immediate family relationship with the adjective *gwyn* (m.), *wen* (f.), fair, beautiful: *tad-gwyn*, step-father, *mam-wen*, step-mother, etc.²⁰ The Breton has the same relationship expressed in *tâd-kaer*, *mamm-kaer*, *c'hoar-gaer*, *merc'h-kaer*, etc., in which *kaer* is an adjective with the meaning *beautiful*. With the material at my disposal I have been unable to find any citation of these modern Welsh or Breton forms before the last quarter of the fifteenth century.²¹ Up to that date the usual ancient forms, *mamec*, *tadec*, *mabec*, etc., persist. Ernault, to be sure, places *mamm-gaer*, etc., in the "moyen-breton," but without further date or citation. The Breton terms would indicate, according to him, both law- and step-relationship.²² As he dates his period from the year 1100, the inclusion of our words is of no aid in fixing their date definitely. Unknown to Ernault was the dictionary of Lagadeuc, the oldest extant Breton glossary, written in 1464.²³ In this work no mention

¹⁸ F. G. Mohl, *Les Origines Romanes*, Prague, 1900.

¹⁹ *Romanische Verwandtschaftsnamen*. Strassb., 1895. Tappolet, without question, accepts the dates of the *Dict. Gén.* (p. 125).

²⁰ Spurrell's *Engl.-Welsh Dict.*, 1905; Pughe's *Welsh Dict.*, 1832; et al.

²¹ I have had access to the libraries of Cornell, Chicago, and Columbia.

²² E. Ernault, *Glossaire Moyen-Breton*, Paris, 1895.

²³ *Le Catholicon de Jehan Lagadeuc . . . imprimé à Tréguier chez Jehan Calvez en MCCCLXXIX.*

is made of the forms *tâd-kaer*, etc., while all the older forms are given, *lesman*, *lesmap*, etc.

On the side of the Netherlands we have data more positive in character. The Dutch also expresses the legal relationship by *mots composés*, translated from the French: *schoonvader*, *schoon-moeder*, *schoon-zoon*, *schoon-dochter*, *schoon-broeder*, *schoon-suster*.²⁴

After a search of all the available material, my own results had convinced me that up to the middle of the fifteenth century the Old Dutch forms alone were used—or at least appear—in Dutch literature and records. Shortly after that date the forms compounded with *schoon* make their appearance. These results were confirmed by the learned Dutch scholar, Prof. J. Verdam of Leyden, to whose kindness I owe the following citations, the earliest known:

Onser harde liever vrouwe ende schonemoeder, *Priv. v. Brielle*, 2, 79 (a. 1477); Gelijcke wedden als plachten te hebben ende te nemen bylevenden tijden ons voorsz. wylen heere ende schoonvadere de raedslyden, *Handv. en Priv. v. Holl.* II, 27 (a. 1477); Sijn scoonsuster . . . soogde Alexander, *Alez.* V, 135.

Prof. Verdam further writes me that his search has convinced him that "les termes sont entrés en Néer. vers le milieu du 15^e siècle, et vraisemblablement en imitant les termes français avec *beau*."²⁵

The Celtic and Dutch translations of the French terms, about the middle of the fifteenth century, alone would fix their usage in France to a period antedating the earliest foreign citations. The period in which French historical and literary records—in speech of the

²⁴ The borrowing has been universally recognized by the Dutch scholars: *Den Nieuwen Dictionaris ofr Schadt der Duytse en Spanesche Talen*, Antwerp, 1659; J. Frank, *Etymolog. Woordenb.*, "navolging van fr. beau." See also, Saalverda De Grave, *Bijdragen tot de kennis der uit het fransch overgenomen woorden in het nederlandsch*.

²⁵ It is rather remarkable that for German *schön* Grimm sees an etymon analogous to that discussed for *beau*, in a primitive meaning *good*: "näher scheint lit. *szaunus* 'trefflich, gut,' zu stehen." (*Wörterb.*)

third person—show a hesitancy in using the new forms, together with the earliest attested use of these words, would seem to place their acceptance into idiomatic currency at about the year 1400. Doubtless there was, in popular speech, considerable use of these words, before they found their hesitating way into writing, but at this we can only guess; the written records alone can concern us.

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THE MODEL OF THE LEATHER-STOCKING TALES

Several years ago the present writer, re-reading the Leather Stocking Tales, prepared two tables to show the interrelations between them in plot and in characters, and was much surprised to observe that all five tales are practically the same, when stripped to bare outlines. At the same time the tables seemed so simple, so obvious, that no further attention was paid to them, until the writer was twice assured in chance conversation that the facts were unknown, or at least not generally known. A careful examination of most of the current Cooper criticism proves this to be correct. The observations upon Cooper, when not dealing with sources, have turned mostly to matters of atmosphere and character drawing in general,—to "Americanism," "the pioneer spirit," and the like. In technique certain resemblances to Walter Scott are observed; but beyond that nothing.

In the five tales, taken as a whole, the principal characters number twelve, though in every novel one or more of these—in two novels as many as three—are missing. Leather Stocking, or Bumppo, appears under his own name in all five; the Indian Chingachgook in four, being replaced in the other, *The Prairie*, by a western Indian, Hard Heart. The other personages change their names, but not their characters. First, there is the father or guardian of the heroine, a somewhat commonplace type, though touched, in the cases of Ishmael

[*Prairie*] and Hutter [*Deerslayer*] with a sinister coloring absent in the other novels. That every novel has a lover and a heroine is scarcely matter for surprise, but it is hardly a mere conventionality to introduce the girls in pairs. Every novel, but one, has two heroines. In every one, except *Deerslayer*, there is also a comic character; in *Pioneers* a fakir, in *Mohicans* the cracked David, in *Prairie* the scientific enthusiast, in *Pathfinder* the grotesque seaman. In *Deerslayer*, Hetty, the second girl, plays a not dissimilar part. Like David she is granted immunity from attack by the Indians because she is half-witted.

Among the hostile characters are three types, a villain, a traitor, and a man who is merely an enemy. In *Pioneers*, where there is no warfare apart from village squabbles, these parts are played by minor characters. In *Mohicans*

the types are combined in that splendid, if corrupt, character, Magua. In *Pathfinder* the parts are interlocked: White is both villain and traitor; Arrowhead is a traitorous enemy.

In the first two novels of the series—in point of date—is another very strong type, the venerable and mysterious old man, who appears at the end as a sort of cue for the final resolution of the plot. In *Pioneers* it is Effingham; in *Mohicans* Tamenund, better known to us to-day under his less venerable name of Tammany. This character seems to have been abandoned after the second novel, possibly because it was too strong, too theatrical, to be subjected to formalization for routine work. In the last two novels is added the Indian woman.

The principal characters by name may be grouped as below:

TABLE I.

	Pioneers [1823]	Mohicans [1826]	Prairie [1827]	Pathfinder [1840]	Deerslayer [1841]
Father or Guardian	Bumppo	Bumppo	Bumppo	Bumppo	Bumppo
Lover	Chingachgook	Chin.	Hard Heart	Chin.	Chin.
1st girl	Temple	Munro	Ishmael	Dunham	Hutter
2nd girl	Edwards	Heyward	Middleton	Eau Douee	March
Comic Character	Eliz. Temple	Cora	Inez	Mabel	Judith
Villain	Louisa Grant	Alice	Ellen	* * *	Hetty
Traitor	Quack doctor	David	The Naturalist	Cap.	Hetty [?]
Simple enemy	Minor persons	Magua	Abiram White	Muir	* * *
Venerable old man	Minor persons	Magua	* * *	Muir & Arrowhead	* * *
Young Indian woman	Effingham	Tamenund.	Mahtoree	Arrowhead	Rivenoak
	* * *	* * *	* * *	* * *	* * *
			* * *	Dew-of-June	Wah-ta-wah

Equally striking is the parallelism in plot. *Pioneers*, having no Indian warfare, stands a little apart; but an examination of the following table will show that the plot formula was beginning to take shape in this, the first of the novels.

All the novels open with a chance meeting between two groups of the principal characters, by which means their acquaintance is begun. In *Pioneers* this is brought about by a shooting episode. *Mohicans*, the second novel, substitutes the journey in the wilderness as the preliminary of the meeting; and the three later

novels retain this journey. In the four later novels this meeting is immediately followed by a brush with the Indians. In three novels there are exciting escapes. In two, *Mohicans* and *Pathfinder*, the treacherous Indian shows his true character at this stage. In *Pioneers* the next episode is the arrest and flight of Bumppo. In the other novels it is replaced by a somewhat prolonged warfare, except in *Pathfinder*, where the cruise on the lake intervenes to break up the continuity of the fighting. Fourth [third in *Pioneers*] comes the final resolution of the plot, which resolution is al-

ways of an exciting character, and in every case accompanied by the death of at least one of the principal characters. In *Pioneers* the excitement arises from the pursuit of the fugitives, and is intensified by the forest fire. Reconciliations follow. Chingachgook dies. *Mohicans* changes the element of excitement to that of warfare. Uncas makes known his identity to the Delawares, an act which has an effect similar to that of a reconciliation. Uncas, Cora, and Magua die. *Prairie* reverts to the type of *Pioneers*, and ends with flight, a prairie fire, reconciliation, and the death of Bumppo; but the element of warfare intro-

duced in *Mohicans*, is retained in *Prairie*, combined with the earlier elements. *Pathfinder* and *Deerslayer*, at this stage, closely resemble *Mohicans*. Both end with fighting, victory over the enemy, and the death of a principal character.

In connection with the slaying of principal characters, it may be noted that Cooper does not permit this except at the end of the novel, no matter how thrilling the escape necessary to avoid it. In none of the novels does love play any considerable part.

The events may be tabulated as follows:

TABLE II.

Pioneers	Mohicans	Prairie	Pathfinder	Deerslayer
Opening scene.				
Shooting of Edwards and introduction to Temple family.	Expedition of Hayward and meeting with Bumppo and Chin.	Bumppo comes upon Ishmael's camp, and meets various persons.	Cap. and Mabel journey to Ontario, and meet Bumppo and Chin.	March and Bumppo journey to Otsego, and meet Hutter and two girls.
Second episode.	Ambush at Glenn's Falls. Narrow escape. Magua's treachery.	Brush with Sioux, and escape.	Brush with Indians. Arrow-head's treachery.	Brush with Indians. Escape of party on the "Ark."
* * * *				
Third episode.				
Bumppo's arrest and flight.	War with French and Indians.	War with Ishmael and with Sioux.	* * *	Series of skirmishes, captures, and escapes.
Final scene.				
Forest-fire. Death of Chin. Reconiliations, and explanations. Appearance of Tamenund. Defeat of Effingham.	War of Hurons and Delawares. Death of Uncas, Cora, and Magua. Appearance of Tamenund. Defeat of Hurons.	Prairie fire. Reconciliation of Ishmael and Ellen. Death of Bumppo.	Fight at the Block house. Exposure of Muir's treachery. Defeat of French and Indians. Death of Dunham.	Fight at the Huron camp. Defeat of the Indians, and hairbreadth escape. Death of Hetty.

To these scenes *Pathfinder* and *Deerslayer* add a sort of corollary, in one case the marriage of Mabel and Eau Douce, and in the other the seduction of Judith.

It is perhaps not strange that Cooper, writing the first three of these novels in quick succession, should use the same technique throughout. But the reappearance of it thir-

teen years later in *Pathfinder*, and the subsequent use in *Deerslayer* indicates that the usage was something more than a temporary fashion, and was rather of the nature of a fixed, or nearly fixed, formula.

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THE SOURCE OF THE IMMEDIATE
PLOT OF FAIRE EM.

The numerous references and suggestions, that the plot of the *Faire Em* story was founded upon a ballad, seemed to me plausible enough to warrant an investigation. The first intimation I received that such a theory was current as an explanation, I found in C. F. T. Brooke's *The Tudor Drama*, p. 272. This hint led to a closer search, with the result that I present the following discussion of a ballad, which critical study convinces me will solve the difficulty and explain away all allegorical suppositions. The simple means of borrowing, so general among the dramatists of the time, will shake the elaborate theories formerly presented (see Brooke, *Shakespeare Apocrypha*, Introduction). I shall confine myself to the presentation of statements in harmony with my own views. Mr. J. C. Collins, in his *Plays and Poems of Greene*, Vol. II, 4, has this to say,— “Now, part of the plot of *Faire Em* is probably founded on a ballad licensed to Henry Carré. March 2, 1580–1, under the title of ‘The Miller’s Daughter of Manchester.’” Here Collins hit the right note, but the wrong ballad. Greene, in his *Farewell to Folly*, 1591, ridicules our author—“but if they come to write or publish anything in print, it is either distilled out of ballets, or borrowed of Theological poets,” etc., adding, that the dramatist is ashamed of his source and thus gives his play a new color and a very new title (R. Simpson’s *School of Shakespeare*, Vol. II, p. 377). From this it must be inferred that the source was a ballad, but not “The Miller’s Daughter of Manchester” as Mr. Collins recently suggested. The exact copy of the title would rather suggest that this particular ballad was drawn from the play and not *vice versa*. That it was customary so to retell the story of drama is proven by the ballad upon Kyd’s *Spanish Tragedy*. If this could be proved, it would place the date of *Faire Em*, first acted, in 1580–1.

The correct ballad source, however, is *Bessie off Bednall*, printed in the *Percy Folio Ms.*,

Vol. II, p. 279. Later versions are entitled *The Blind Beggar’s Daughter of Bednal-Green*. The exact date of this ballad is not known, we can do nothing more than state the evidence of scholars. There is little doubt but that it was very popular in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Internal evidence of the Percy ballad would show that date, besides, the following quotations are sufficient proof to sustain the early composition. W. Chappell, in the *Roxburghe Ballads*, Vol. I, writes—“The earliest extant copy is perhaps that in the Percy folio, the printed broad sides being chiefly of the date of Charles the 2nd, or later.” In his *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, pp. 159–60, we find this ballad listed among those of Queen Elizabeth’s reign. Again, to quote Hall—“The ballad was certainly not written later than Queen Elizabeth’s reign; for, as Percy points out, Mary Ambree was sung to the tune of it” (*Percy Folio Ms.*, Vol. II, p. 279). This is evidence enough to show the ballad was current at a time in which it could serve as a source; if we do not possess the particular version, at least we know the oldest version will conform closely to the Percy, inasmuch as little deviation is apparent in the broadside copies.

This story is the account which will serve as a digest of any one of the ballad versions. Bessye, supposedly of poor parentage, leaves home to dwell at the Queen’s Arms, Rumford. Her virtues and great beauty win her many lovers. Among them we find four suitors, in reality three, each representative of a class in English society, seeking her love. They are a rich London merchant; a gentleman of good degree; a Knight; a landlady’s son. The first three lovers ask her to become a bride, enumerating what each has to offer in keeping with her beauty. The landlady’s son does not seem to be taken seriously, as no mention is made of a direct proposal. Our pretty Bessye seeks a faithful lover. She accordingly refers their suit to her father, the Blind Beggar of Bednall Greene. This announcement causes dismay and desertion on the part of the suitors, excepting the loyal knight. He will have her “hap better or worsse.” Consequently, Bessye and her lover set out to visit the blind old man.

Pursued but rescued, they meet the old father, who blessed the young people and ultimately gave them gold "thousands 3." The second part of the ballad opens with a wedding feast among the nobles of the country. During this mirth the blind beggar arrives in the guise of a minstrel, who, after singing a few songs, suddenly glorifies the name of the bride. He tells of her beauty, the kindness of her heart and finally the story of her birth. She is of noble blood, the daughter of "young Mountford of a highe degree;" a knight forced by war to live in retirement and in secret.

In the play the incidents are of necessity entirely changed, as that was the object of the dramatist; still, even a superficial reading will hardly fail to impress upon the reader the exact similarity of structure. This is due to the fact that the outline, the framework of the ballad, was incorporated intact. Read the modernized version of the ballad, printed in the Oxford ballad book and any edition of the play and you will find the following basis. Father and daughter disguised and poor, in reality noble and wealthy. The maid a celebrated beauty attracting many lovers and in particular three earnest suitors, with a fourth of little consideration. Each man is the representative of a class. The real quality of the lovers is shown by a test involving blindness, which does not weaken the ardor of the noble knight who wins the lady. When it is known the conditions were only a test the other suitors are always disappointed and angry. The final scene before royalty disclosed the identity of father and daughter.

The only suggestion of similarity of incident which I could discover is found in the episode where the knight fights for his lady love, just as they arrive before the Blind Beggar's hovel. This seems to suggest the short scene of conflict between Valingford and Manvile. The real test of my assertions is found in comparison of the principal characters. Though the dramatist is condemned as a character portrayer, we must admire him for the ability he displayed in developing his men as the ballad suggests. Working from a single line of the song he presents character contrasts of inner

nature. It is true, we find only in a general way a likeness between the Beggar and the Miller. A change of condition and surroundings would answer for all differences in two men who are valiant knights that live only for their pretty daughter. As for the two girls, it is hardly worth while to enter a detailed comparison. Let it suffice that they are "dainty, neuer to coye," blithe bonny lasses who seek faithfulness in love and are devoted to their father. In the ballad the landlady's son swears fidelity, yet is not represented among the three suitors who make a formal offer of marriage. An excellent youth "who swore he wold dye ffor pretty Bessye!" (l. 48). The consideration shown him, besides this sentence, seem to indicate the fool and braggart. Evidently he imagines himself another Sir Tophas, whom the dramatist so depicts in the person of Trotter. The gentleman exclaims thus—"My hart lyes distressed; O helpe me" (l. 56), which is again re-echoed in Mountney's asking Em to find "such kinde remorse as naturally you are enclyned to" for my affection. The greater unknown Lord Valingford expresses hope and good faith throughout the play in accord with the ballad reading, "And if thou wilt wedd with me—" (l. 49), the words of the disguised knight. On the other hand, "Let me bee thy husband! the Merchant cold say" (l. 57) sums up the attitude of the wavering merchant's son Manvile. This shows a lack of feeling so evident in Em's lover, for he has no difficulty in turning to another girl. Throughout the play his actions prove he thinks he is making a very great sacrifice to marry the lovely maid. He is in reality indifferent, that is to say, cold, for he can "so finely shift his matters off." In connection with this character, we notice a manifest copying of words in the expression used to indicate his change of feeling. In the ballad he retracts with this exclamation, "Nay then, thou art not for mee!" (l. 77), in the play—"Both blind and deafe! Then is she no wife for me."

Such actions and expressions are not the work of chance. When you read a man's character at this critical period of life you have his nature exposed. If he dissembles, you may be

sure he will do so many times; if he commands a proposal, he has an abundance of vanity to protect him from really loving a woman; if his words are couched in terms of consideration and feeling, a woman will find in him a man worthy of her regard. Our dramatist was fortunate in finding the ballad touching this weighty question, for he received his characters sharply defined.

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THE METAMORPHOSES IN MUIOPOTMOS

Most of the discussion concerning *Muiopotmos* has centered around the question of whether or not it is an allegory. The prevailing opinion is that it is a mock-heroic, and contains no hidden meaning. In the light of all obtainable evidence this view seems to be correct. Even with this problem dismissed or regarded as settled, however, the question of sources arises. Allegorical or mock-heroic, the framework of *Muiopotmos* remains to be accounted for. Dr. Nadal has established the strong presumption that Spenser was here writing under the influence of Chaucer's *Sir Thopas* and *The Nun's Priest's Tale*.¹ This influence seems rather pervasive than particular, a reminiscence of spirit rather than of plot. Granting this influence, I wish further to point out Spenser's use of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

Upon analysis *Muiopotmos* divides itself into the six following parts:

1. Introduction ("I sing of deadly dolorous debate") and Invocation ("Vouchsafe, O thou the mournfulst Muse of nyne"), 1-16.
2. Description of Clarion as the ideal young knight and his arming, 17-112.
3. Metamorphosis of Venus' nymph, Astery, into a butterfly, 113-144.

¹ T. W. Nadal, "Spenser's *Muiopotmos* in Relation to Chaucer's *Sir Thopas* and *The Nun's Priest's Tale*," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, xxv, 640 f.

4. Clarion's journey and arrival at the 'gay gardins,' 145-256.

5. Metamorphosis of Arachne into a spider, 257-352.

6. Clarion's capture in Aragnoll's web and death at his hands, 353-440.

It is with the two metamorphoses, numbers three and five, that we shall be chiefly concerned. The action of the rest of the poem can be told in a sentence: Clarion, son of Muscaroll and descendant of the butterfly nymph Astery, arms himself and journeys to a beautiful garden, where he is caught and slain by his hereditary foe, Aragnoll, descendant of the spider-changed Arachne. That is the entire plot, if so slight a narrative nucleus may be called a plot. Spenser takes 312 lines to relate it, proceeding by his favorite method of stringing a succession of stanza pictures on his narrative thread.

The most interesting part of the poem is the use made of the two incidental metamorphoses to give a motive to the hatred of Aragnoll, the spider, for Clarion, the butterfly.

The starting point of the whole seems to be the Arachne Metamorphosis² of Ovid, VI, i. This is the account of Arachne's being transformed by Minerva into a spider as punishment for presuming to pit her skill against that of the goddess in a weaving contest.³ Spenser takes the story as told by Ovid, shortens it greatly, and alters it freely to serve his purpose of linking the fortunes of spider and butterfly. This is accomplished as follows: In Ovid, it will be recalled, after Minerva has displayed her skill by embroidering her contest with Neptune over Athens, Arachne fills her web with subjects designedly chosen to exhibit the failings and errors of the gods. Twenty-one amours in the lives of Jupiter, Neptune,

² Arachne is also referred to in *The Faerie Queene*, II, xii, 77.

³ Palgrave (Grosart's *Spenser*, iv-LXXI) is seemingly unaware of this obvious source. He doubtfully refers the poem to the Ariadne picture in *The Nuptials of Thetis and Peleus* of Catullus. He is, however, not satisfied with their connection, and speaks of it as "fantastically slight." Careful examination fails to reveal any trace of Catullus in *Muiopotmos*.

Phœbus, and Saturn are depicted. Minerva can not forbear to admire her skill, yet feels indignant at the insult. She strikes the web with her shuttle and rends it in pieces. She also strikes the forehead of Arachne three or four times. The unhappy creature can not endure it and goes and hangs herself. Minerva pities her as she sees her suspended by the rope, sprinkles her with aconite and transforms her into a spider.

In Spenser's account, Arachne tries her hand before Minerva. Out of the twenty-one amours mentioned by Ovid, Spenser chooses only one, the picturesque episode of Europa and the Bull, and describes it at some length, omitting all mention of the other twenty. From the fact of this choice and from the space devoted to the description (twelve lines) it would seem that Spenser drew here on the original Europa episode as related in full by Ovid, Book II, xiv, and by Moschus in his Second Idyl.⁴ Minerva's turn comes next. Spenser, like Ovid, represents her as depicting her creation of the olive tree to overmatch Neptune's gift of the horse. Then Spenser (329-352) introduces the butterfly, which is entirely original with him:

"Emongst those leaves she made a butterflie,
With excellent device and wondrous slight,
Fluttring among the olives wantonly,
That seem'd to live, so like it was in sight:
The velvet nap which on his wings doth lie,
The silken downe with which his backe is dight,
His broad outstretched hornes, his hayrie thies,
His glorious colours, and his glistering eies.

Which when Arachne saw, as overlaid
And mastered with workmanship so rare,
She stood astonied long, ne ought gainesaid,
And with fast fixed eyes on her did stare,
And by her silence, signe of one dismaid,
The victorie did yeeld her as her share:
Yet did she inly fret, and felly burne,
And all her blood to poysous rancor turne:

⁴The Europa story was a favorite of Spenser's. He refers to it twice in *The Faerie Queene*: (1) In III, xi, 30, where it is mentioned as one of the amours of the gods which were woven in arras on the walls of the House of Busyrane, 'where Loves spoyles are exprest.' Spenser's list there, by the way, seems suggested by Ovid's list in the Arachne metamorphosis. (2) In the Prologue to Book V, 5.

That shortly from the shape of womanhed,
Such as she was, when Pallas she attempted,
She grew to hideous shape of dryrihed,
Pined with grieve of follie late repented;
Eftsoones her white streight legs were altered
To crooked crawling shankes, of marrowe emptied,
And her faire face to fowle and loathsome hewe,
And her fine corpes to a bag of venom grewe."

This addition of the butterfly is the happy invention of Spenser. Ovid represents Arachne and Minerva as displaying equal skill, and attributes Arachne's transformation to Minerva's pity, to save Arachne from suicide. Spenser introduces the butterfly as the crowning touch of Minerva's art, which proves her superiority to her mortal rival and which causes Arachne to swell up from rage and envy into a spider. In view of this it is of course to be expected that all spiders should thenceforward hate all butterflies. Natural, therefore, is the emotion of Arachne's son, Aragnoll, when he sees Clarion fly into his garden:

"This cursed creature, mindfull of that olde
Enfested grudge, the which his mother felt,
So soone as Clarion he did beholde,
His heart with vengefull malice inly swelt."

To account for Clarion, his hero, Spenser relates earlier in the poem (lines 113-144) another short metamorphosis. The story runs as follows: Astery, a nymph of Venus, surpasses her companions in gathering flowers for their queen and is falsely and enviously accused by them to Venus of receiving secret aid from Cupid. Venus remembers her son's intrigue with Psyche and is led to believe the slander. In her anger she changes the unfortunate Astery into a butterfly, placing in her wings the flowers gathered by her in memory of her pretended crime. Clarion, through his father Muscaroll, is the descendant of this Astery.

No source for this little metamorphosis can be discovered. It is presumably the invention of Spenser, suggested seemingly by the Arachne metamorphosis and composed in direct contrast

with it, with a natural reminiscence of other metamorphoses.⁵

It does not seem unlikely that the spider as villain suggested the fly as victim, and that the butterfly was chosen as the most beautiful of flies. Certainly it is more poetic than, for example, is the gnat, which Spenser borrowed earlier from the pseudo-Virgilian *Culex* and applied allegorically to an incident in his relations with Lord Leicester! The Cupid and Psyche legend may have offered the suggestion. It was in Spenser's mind at the time for there is a detailed reference to it in the Astery metamorphosis, lines 130-133, where Venus is described as

"Not yet unmindfull how not long agoe
Her sonne to Psyche secret love did beare,
And long it close conceal'd, till mickle woe
Thereof arose, and manie a rueful teare."

Again in *The Faerie Queene*, III, vi, 50 a stanza is devoted to summarizing the incident. It will be recalled that Psyche in Greek means

* Spenser's making over of the Arachne metamorphosis and invention of the Astery metamorphosis are quite in keeping with his method elsewhere. He frequently takes a myth, legend, or metamorphosis and adapts it or imitates it to serve his turn. Five other instances may be pointed out: (1) In *Astrophel* he applies the Adonis myth in slightly changed form to the death of Sidney. The original Venus and Adonis story is related at length in *The Faerie Queene*, III, i, 34-38. (2) In *The Shephearde's Calendar*, July, lines 219-228, he parallels the famous legend of the death of Æschylus 'that was Brayned with a shell-fishe' (Spenser's Gloss, *Algrin*) to describe the punishment of Algrind (Archbishop Grindal). (3) In *The Faerie Queene*, III, vi, 1-29, he invents the beautiful legend of the birth of Belphoebe and Amoret, daughters of Chrysogone by the beams of the sun. (4) In *The Faerie Queene*, VI, vii, 33 ff., the story of Mirabella's alleged revolt against Cupid and her punishment is a mixture of classic legend and medieval romance motive. (5) In *The Faerie Queene*, VII, vi, 40-55, the legend of Faunus and Molanna is imitated from the Acteon metamorphosis. The foolish god Faunus desires to look upon Diana bathing. He gets his wish by bribing the nymph Molanna, but betrays his presence. The indignant goddess clothes him in a deerskin and chases him cruelly with her hunting dogs, though he is not torn in pieces as Acteon was. Molanna is stoned to death and turned into a river. Diana and her band forsake that vicinity forever.

butterfly,⁶ and that Psyche is represented in art with the wings of the butterfly.

Whatever may have suggested to Spenser his little metamorphosis on the origin of the butterfly, he has skilfully linked it with his butterfly addition to Ovid's Arachne. Taken together the two butterfly incidents play an important part in the plot. They not only afford to the two chief characters an altogether satisfactory ancestry and lend them almost epic dignity,⁷ but at the same time they also account for Aragnoll's 'enfested grudge' toward Clarion and give it sufficient historical motive.

To sum up our conclusions:

1. In view of the lack of positive evidence, *Muiopotmos* does not seem to be an allegory; that is, it contains no hidden meaning or outside reference.

2. It seems, on the other hand, to be a mock-heroic, Spenser's unique and successful experiment in that direction.

3. Upon the evidence adduced by Dr. Nadal, it appears probable that *Muiopotmos* was written under the influence (conscious or unconscious) of Chaucer's *Sir Thopas* and *The Nun's Priest's Tale*.

4. Ovid's metamorphoses of Arachne and of Europa and the Bull were directly drawn upon as sources.

5. To the Arachne metamorphosis Spenser added the incident of Minerva's weaving the

* The proper names in *Muiopotmos* are interesting. They are five in number: Astery, Muscaroll, and Clarion on one side, and Arachne and Aragnoll on the other. *Astery* and *Clarion* seem conventional names and neither can be traced, unless Dr. Nadal's conjecture as to the latter is correct: "Where did Spenser get the name *Clarion*? In the light of the foregoing collateral testimony I think we may safely say that Clarion is Chauncleer's namesake. The obvious etymological kinship of the two names supports this supposition." (*Spenser's Muiopotmos*, l. c., p. 654.) *Arachne* comes straight from Ovid. *Muscaroll* looks like the Romance diminutive of the Latin *musca*, fly. *Aragnoll* is the Romance spelling of the Latin *araneolus*, *araneola*, the diminutive of *aranea*, a spider or cobweb. The word *araneoli*, by the way, occurs in the second line of the pseudo-Virgilian *Culex*, rendered as *cob-web* by Spenser in line three of his *Virgils Gnat*.

⁷ This fact also seems to strengthen the view that *Muiopotmos* is in mock heroic vein.

butterfly, in order to account for Arachne's defeat and the consequent enmity of spiders toward flies.

6. In imitation (by contrast) of the Arachne episode, with the probability of a suggestion from the Cupid and Psyche legend, Spenser invented the Astery metamorphosis to explain the origin of the butterfly.

7. Structurally the most skilful thing in *Muiopotmos* is the linking of the Astery and Arachne metamorphoses to account for the hated Aragnoll bears Clarion and the resulting death of Clarion in Aragnoll's web.

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A NEW LIFE OF BYRON

Byron. By ETHEL COLBURN MAYNE. In two volumes with eighteen illustrations. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912.

"It is no part of my present office," said Swinburne in the preface to his volume of selections from Byron, "to rewrite the history of a life in which every date and event that could be given would now seem trite and stale to all possible readers. If, after so many promises and hints, something at once new and true shall at length be unearthed or extricated, which may affect for the better or the worse our judgment of the man, it will be possible and necessary to rewrite it." The time for this rewriting has, perhaps, arrived. With the exception of Nichol's brilliant sketch, and in spite of many attempts, English and foreign, there has never been a satisfactory life of Byron. Moore's is a notorious failure; Elze's conscientious and heavy; Jeaffreson's hard, prejudiced, and superficial. Moreover Byron is beginning to assume the place which a final and impartial estimate will accord him in literature. The reaction from the prejudiced and ungenerous depreciation of Carlyle, Macaulay, Taylor, and Thackeray, typical of the attitude of early Victorian criticism in general, may be

said to begin in the brilliant little essay by Swinburne from which a passage is quoted above. Arnold echoed this praise in the preface to a similar anthology. The influence of Ruskin, especially in the third chapter of *Fiction, Fair and Foul* (1880), must be taken into account, as must so powerful and searching a study as Lord Morley's essay. This reaction received full expression in John Murray's edition of Byron's Poetry and Prose, completed under the editorship of Mr. Coleridge and Mr. Prothero some ten years ago. German research, especially that of Brandl, Koeppl, Kölbing, and Eimer, has contributed to this revival. The new Life by E. C. Mayne is the logical outcome of this renewed interest and appreciation.

From the purely biographical side the work is for the most part satisfactory. The author accepts without question the "fragment of truth" contained in Lord Lovelace's *Astarte*, and, largely in the light of those revelations, has undertaken a new history of his career and estimate of his character. Though it must be reluctantly admitted that the balance of probability favors *Astarte*, the attempt at a refutation of that book put forth by Mr. Richard Edgecumbe has been too contemptuously dismissed. *Byron, the last Phase*, however fantastic in the extremes to which it goes, serves to show the contradictions in the evidence offered by Lord Lovelace, and to illustrate how entirely at variance external and internal testimony may be. In a new German edition of Byron (*Byron's Werke. Herausgegeben von Friedrich Brie*, Leipzig, 1912), Mr. Edgecumbe's version is accepted and is used as light in obscure passages. Miss Mayne, on the other hand, has implicit confidence in Lord Lovelace, and cites as testimony the so-called "confession" written by Mrs. Leigh in 1816, a document which Lord Lovelace failed to publish and the suppression of which is a suspicious circumstance, since as evidence it would have been of more value than anything else. The other *crux* in the biography of Byron, the identity of Thyrza, Miss Mayne ignores, save for an unimportant note. It is worth remarking that Mr. E. H. Coleridge, contradicting

his earlier and eminently sensible view of the subject (note to *Childe Harold* II, 9), has, in his latest article on Byron (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, eleventh edition, vol. IV, p. 898), revived the utterly untenable theory that the Thyrza poems refer to the death of the Cambridge choir-boy Eddlestone.

Miss Mayne depicts Byron's character with great fairness and some insight. He is neither the wronged angel of Moore and the Guiccioli, nor the incarnate fiend of anti-Byronism. In spite of her rebuke addressed to Mr. Francis Gribble, with the remark "I regard his love-affairs as things of little importance to any one but their victims. Worthily to write of Byron, indeed, is to write of all but them" (I, 297), there is a tendency to devote too much space to the love-episodes, notably to that with Caroline Lamb. The real greatness of the final phase in Greece is appreciated and adequately presented, but there should have been acknowledgment of the debt to Mr. Richard Edgecumbe's investigations into the last days of Byron's life.

On the critical side the work is wholly unsatisfactory, though the author may plead that she is writing biography, not criticism. Remarks like "Our ludicrous familiarity with the opening lines of *The Prisoner of Chillon* is fatal to serious consideration of the poem" are too frequent. Nor can the plea *De gustibus* account for some of the capricious estimates, such as the exaltation of *Marino Faliero* above *Sardanapalus*. Miss Mayne has apparently no conception of the value of Byron's dramas, not in themselves, but as an aid to the understanding of his entire achievement.

There are a few minute errors of fact that may be noted.

Vol. I, p. 145, text and note 2. Miss Mayne says that the prose explanation of the attack on Lord Carlisle "appeared in the first edition" of *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* and was "an unmistakable clue to the authorship." This "further allusion" did not appear in the first, anonymous edition (see page 50 of that issue), but was added with much else in the second edition. This error Miss Mayne owes to the neglect of Mr. E. H.

Coleridge to call attention to the date of the insertion of this note. That there was some attempt at anonymity, even if unsuccessful, is further shown by the original reading of line 726 of *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* (line 490 of the first edition), whereas Miss Mayne quotes the passage from later editions of the poem.

Vol. II, p. 73. Byron's "laconic" denial of indebtedness to Goethe's *Faust* in the composition of *Manfred* is quoted as his authoritative utterance on the subject. But elsewhere (*Letters and Journals*, V, 37), he admits such indebtedness, at least by implication.

Vol. II, p. 109, note 3. The recasting of the third act of *Manfred* is said to be "the only example of a second attempt in all Byron's work." But compare the first and second versions of the first act of *Werner*.

Vol. II, p. 110. Miss Mayne curiously identifies Nemesis and Astarte in the second act of *Manfred*.

Vol. II, p. 182, note. Mr. Coleridge's Bibliography (Poetry VII, 275), has no record of any copies of the first edition of *Marino Faliero* with a portrait of Margarita Cogni as frontispiece, nor does such a portrait appear in the copy owned by the present reviewer. The passage from his letters quoted by Miss Mayne makes it possible that Byron had seen such a copy, but it is much more likely that he had been misinformed, as was frequently the case, by one of his English correspondents. Otherwise this item in Byron-bibliography stands in need of some explanation.

There are a few misprints and incorrect references in the volumes, as follows:

I, 92, note 1, line 4;—I, 143, line 5;—II, 84, line 2 (a word has dropped out);—II, 92, line 7 (add "vol. I" to reference);—II, 127, line 14 from bottom (for "the" read "these");—II, 159, note 1 (an incorrect reference);—II, 170, note 2 (add "vol. V." to reference);—II, 210, note 2 (an incorrect reference).

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KENNETH MCKENZIE, *Il Ventaglio (The Fan), a Comedy in Three Acts*, by CARLO GOLDONI. Translated for the Yale University Dramatic Association with an Introduction. New Haven, Conn.: A. S. Hubbard, 1911.

If Goldoni's comedies still remain upon the stage, it is because they each contain an effective outline of essentially dramatic force; if he is still an imposing literary figure, it is because behind his drama lurks a richness of humanity elaborated with consummate skill and exquisite delicacy. The former is obvious enough to captivate an audience of any degree of culture; the second is deep enough to interest even today a wide circle of enthusiastic investigators, whose discoveries seem as remote from exhaustion as at the beginning. So cogent is the dramatic element in Goldoni, that it is relatively easy for the translator to make of his works actable plays. To preserve their literary charm is quite another matter, and as Goldoni becomes most distinctively Goldoni the task increases in difficulty.

Professor McKenzie has been keenly alive to this problem, and is to be congratulated on the skill with which he has freed himself from Goldoni's text in order to remain the more faithful to Goldoni's thought. If anything has been lost in the translation it is not the vitality of the original. We have an idiomatic version, that approaches the maximum of exactness; and it often happens that we have excellent English replacing some fairly bad Italian. After all, Goldoni is of another age, and archaism affects his humor as well as his diction. Professor McKenzie has successfully rendered the effect of the latter by ignoring it as far as possible; the former is handled in such a way as not to diminish sensibly the evenness, the freshness of tone that characterize the simpler parts of the translation, which is worthy of the original and deserving of the warm reception it has received on the stage and from foreign criticism.

Possibly an occasional refinement, here and there a shade of meaning, could be more closely approximated without difficulty from English

idiom. The exposition of character in Sc. I, Act I of the *Ventaglio* seems to me one of the most delicate of Goldoni. Especially for Geltruda, not a word is lost, not a sentence is without its cumulative effect. This fact needs to be borne in mind in the translation; for there are one or two passages that would permit alternative renderings, were it not for the closely knit character of the context. The intelligibility of these parts in the spoken dialogue depends upon the insight of the acting. Geltruda appears on the scene first as the protector of Limoncino. The baron remarks "Sentite, la buona vedova lo protegge." "Listen: the widow protects him." The inflection of the voice would show "sentite" as indicative, to emphasize the continuity of previous gossip relative to Geltruda; her opening speech confirms the Baron's point of view toward her. And his malice is further hinted in the epithet "buona vedova," which should have a more ample translation than "widow." The import of the slur is made clear by Evaristo's characterization of her as "saggia e onesta." Presently the Baron criticizes her for "troppo dottrina," rendered as "affectation"; but this word is of some importance in the following scene; bound with "dottoramenti" in the Baron's rejoinder to her second speech, it gives the key to the ambiguous "Gran cosa! Non si fa che criticare le azioni altrui, e non si prende guardia alle proprie:" "Nonsense! He does nothing but criticize other people, etc." This is in reply to Candida's praise of Evaristo's kindheartedness. Professor McKenzie abandons the natural implication of the syntax, and, I think, erroneously. First of all, there is nothing to show that Evaristo is a censorious character; so Goldoni is made to throw out a hint which is not to be followed up. The real situation is this: at the mention of Evaristo's name, Geltruda, solicitous for her niece's peace of mind, tries to turn the conversation away from him, by assaulting gossip in general; she comes out with a general statement, correctly named by the Baron as a "dottoramento," which shows her affectation of general superiority over those who are not, like her, addicted to reading such elevated solid books

as the fables of La Fontaine. With similar "dottoramenti," Geltruda concludes the next two following scenes. The rendering of "*dottrina*" by "affection" and of "*dottoramenti*" by "speeches" fails to preserve the liaison of the dialogue established, and I believe intentionally, by Goldoni in these words. Goldoni's use of the impersonal "si" in "Non si fa etc." is likewise a delicate touch. Her reserve toward Evaristo is here shown indirectly, as a preparation for her direct insinuations later.

Evaristo's word play on Limoncino's name Limoncino-Arancio-Bergamotto is only ordinary at best (Act I, sc. 1). American slang could easily help us out; but it is clear that the rendering of "bergamotto" by "little pear" is pointless, in spite of numerous Italian commentators, as Menghini, in favor of it. It is a question certainly of three kinds of citrons, of which "bergamotto" is the *citrus medica* (see Contarini), the 'sweet lime' (see Foster).

Further on the Count is objecting to the noise in the piazza: CRESPIANO. Ehi, Coronato! COR. Cosa volete, mastro Crespino? CRE. Il signor Conte non vuole che si batta! "The Count wants everybody to keep quiet!" The humor consists in the fact that Coronato, busy with his accounts, is actually as still as a mouse. Crespino's malicious joke is better indicated by "The Count wants *you* to stop pounding."

I would not suppress *finalmente* in Moracchio's "Finalmente è un signore," for the word shows that Moracchio agrees with Scavezzi's estimate of the Count (I, 1).

Act I, 4. EVARISTO. Anzi mi ha ella parlato perchè m'interessi presso di vostro fratello: "In fact, she has asked me to take an interest in your brother." Rather, 'She has asked me to speak to your brother in your behalf.' The following dialogue is splendidly rendered. CRESPIANO (to Coronato). Che pretensione avete voi sopra questa ragazza: "What intentions have you in regard to this girl?" Rather, 'authority over this girl,' 'claim on.' COR. (to Giannina). Or ora! "See here!" Better taken as temporal. The following words of Crespino are also aside, so should be rendered

more literally as a mental query. In the subsequent "baruffa" between Giannina and Susanna, Giannina threatens to strike Susanna; Susanna retreats in fear but excuses her retreat with "Vado via, perchè ci perdo del mio;" Giannina clearly is insulted, "Ci perde del suo?" The translation, "I may lose my temper, etc., is inexact; better, 'She's beneath my dignity,' or the like. For this locution, cf. Goldoni again in the *Contessina*, I, 8: Pantalone. Io so che al fine Vi perderei del mio dando un figliuolo Sì ricco e sì ben fatto Ad una figlia d'un villan rifatto.

I, 5. CONTE. Il mio vino quest'anno è riuscito male. CORONATO (aside). Son due anni che l'ha venduto: "My wine turned out badly this year. He has sold his own wine for three years." Better, 'He sold it (this year's crop) two years ago,' i. e., to get money in advance.

Act II, 1. Che ti venga del bene: "Much good may it do her." Rather as an ejaculation, 'God bless you.'—II, 4. BARONE. So che siete amico della signora Geltruda. CONTE. Oh, amico, vi dirò. Ella è una donna che ha qualche talento. . . . A neat point is missed in the translation of the Count's reply by "Yes, my dear fellow, I will tell you." *Amico* is not vocative, but is explanatory of the *amico* used by the Baron. The count represents the implication that he is very intimate with a mere "cittadina." Incidentally, editors should adopt the punctuation "Oh, amico . . . vi dirò."—*Ibid.* BARONE. . . .

anderò a trattenermi dallo speziale. CONTE. Perchè dallo speziale? BAR. Ho bisogno di un poco di rabarbaro per la digestione. CON. Del rabarbaro? Vi darà della radica del sambuco. BAR. No, no, lo conosco. Se non sarà buono non lo prenderò: ". . . BAR. I have need of some medicine. COUNT. I will give you some of my elderberry cordial, Baron." This cannot stand. Better, 'I need some medicine. Count. He'll be sure to give you the wrong dose.'—*Ibid.* SUSANNA. Favorisca, se comanda, si serva qui; è padrone: "Speak to her here, if you please, will you, sir." Add, 'Make yourself at home.'—II, 5. GELTRUDA. E un poco franco di lingua, ma non c'è male; "A little free with his tongue, but after all

that doesn't matter." Better, 'A little sharp in his talk, but after all he will do.' That is, *non c'è male* modifies *Barone*.—II, 6. CONTE. Dove eravate indirizzata? GIANNINA. A fare i fatti miei, signore: . . . "To do what I have to do sir." Better, 'To mind my own business, sir.'—II, 8. Ella lo farà quando le condizioni . . .: "When the conditions . . ." *Quando* is probably conditional.—II, 10, BARONE. Non ne vo saper altro: "I do not care to hear any more." Better, 'I wash my hands of the whole business.' Mi son servito di voi mal a proposito: "I made a great mistake in speaking to you at all." Better, 'I should not have spoken about it to a man like you.'—II, 14 (13). GIANNINA. Matto stramatto e di là da matto: "Crazy, extra crazy, once more crazy." Better, 'More than crazy.' For *e poi matto* above, 'ten times crazy,' or the like.—II, 17 (16). CORONATO. Intanto glie l'ho fatta (*variant, fatto*) vedere, l'ho avuto io: "Well, he saw it, and I have it." Rather: 'Anyhow, I've shown him what! I was the one who got it.'

III, 2. CONTE. Colui che non beve mai vino: "The one who never drinks wine, etc." *Colui* is specific, referring to the Count's "steward." 'That fellow, who never gets a drink.' SUSANNA. Insulta e poi non vuol che si parli: "and won't let you speak." Better, 'and expects you to keep still.'—III, 3. In the long speech of Crespino, the effect is lost by unnecessary freedom in translation, È capace di dirlo. Oh è così briccone ch'è capace di dirlo: "He is capable of calling me a robber," and again in Cosa farò? L'abbandonerò? Eh, poco più, poco meno. Le voglio bene: "Give her up? Well, I don't know about that. I am very fond of her."—III, 4. CORONATO. Mi raccomando a voi: "Well, good-day to you." Better, 'Good-day, remember about the fan.'—III, 6. EVARISTO. . . . ho pianto, ho pregato, l'ho sincerata: "I . . . wept, begged, implored. . . ." Better, 'Wept, begged, explained matters to her.'—III, 8 GIANNINA. È in accidente: "He is in a faint." Probably, in view of what follows, 'apoplexy.' Here also, Limoncino enters abruptly with the words "Ed il . . . :"

"Thank you, sir." I believe these words are rather the beginning of a remark about the fan which he sees in Crespino's hands. The difficulty of the subsequent pun on "gola," "throat" and "gluttony," "sweet-tooth," can perhaps be surmounted by the slang 'gullet.'—III, 13. GIANNINA. Così va detto: "That's the way to talk." Better, 'So they say,' but our reading depends on how we view Giannina's reaction to the situation. Is it joy at Coronato's renunciation, or anger at the slur in his last words? I prefer the latter.

In leaving this charming little book, beautifully printed with photographs of the Yale cast, we may express the hope that Prof. McKenzie will give us other similar translations of Goldoni, for whom he has shown a genuine feeling. In future works he could perhaps approach the Goldonian charm a little more closely, only by a more thoroughgoing adoption of colloquial English forms, and above all educate his editors to the point of being able without flinching to look an honest 'didn't' in the face.

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SCHILLER'S *Don Carlos*, Infant von Spanien, Ein Dramatisches Gedicht, Edited with Introduction, Bibliography, Appendices, Notes, and Index, by FREDERICK W. C. LIEDER. Oxford University Press, 1912.

Schiller's *Don Carlos* certainly deserves at least one edition for English college students. It is important as a product of transition from Storm and Stress to Classicism, though in most respects, aside from its mere verse form, it belongs quite distinctly among the earlier works. The unripe artist is still very apparent.

To students advanced enough to study Schiller's works as a whole, as a reflex of his life and times, such an edition should be welcome, though such maturer students are generally able to handle the available German editions. Teachers of German may be pardoned, how-

ever, if they do not share the editor's enthusiasm for *Don Carlos* for class use at an earlier stage of the college course. The briefer and riper plays must continue to be the most available texts for first readings in the classics. As a preparatory school text it is hardly to be recommended, especially at a time when most teachers are beginning to realize that all college preparatory work in German, or two full years of college work (in case of beginners) should deal only with strictly modern prose. The students' feeling for the language should not be confused by a too early acquaintance with the more or less archaic syntax and vocabulary of even the best available classics.

For later courses, where literary interpretation and study of literary movements may with propriety occupy a larger share of attention from teacher and student, this text may prove a welcome variation of *menu*. Its use will prove fruitful. The editor has done his task with great diligence and general accuracy.

The Introduction gives a moderately full account of the genesis of the play, its relation to the poet's life and times, particularly to the Storm and Stress movement and to Lessing. Its *pièce de résistance*, however, is a study in Comparative Literature, "The Don Carlos Theme in Literature" which is already familiar to scholars who noted its appearance in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. ix, No. 4. This is essentially a bibliography of the Don Carlos theme with some brief account of contents and relationships.

To this is added a bibliography of Schiller biographies, *Carlos* editions, Comparative Literature studies of Schiller, Historical studies on the period of Spanish history concerned, etc. The reviewer wishes that in some way the relative values of these works for the student and teacher, as well as for the scholar, might have been indicated, for of the score or more Schiller biographies listed some are antiquated, some popular, some scholarly, etc. Among recent ones, at any rate, Berger and Kühnemann have such different attitudes that they deserve a word of differentiation. A great torso like Minor's fragment needs some sort of distinc-

tion from a complete life, etc. A mere alphabetical list is rather unsatisfactory as a guide to intelligent reference.

The Notes themselves furnish a vast amount of information of a very wide range, and are in general accurate and illuminating, if they do not tempt one too far afield for their real function. They give ample historical, biographical, and geographical information. They make an unusually generous use of the sources, St. Real's and Brantôme's stories, and Watson's History. Schiller's own "*Briefe über Don Carlos*" are given in generous excerpts. Citations from the prose version of the play, and additions from the *Thalia* version, provide materials for a first-hand study of the genesis of the play. Most of the real difficulties are illuminated, though one could wish greater independence of judgment in regard to points still in controversy.

For those who wish to make use of interesting parallels a generous space has been allotted to such apparatus. Schiller's own earlier works, Lessing's, Goethe's, Shakespeare's works have been ransacked for them, and the results are put here at the reader's disposal.

Here and there an error has crept into the notes, and sometimes they are confusing, but such cases are not numerous enough to detract seriously from the usefulness of the work as a whole.

For l. 174 some information is given in regard to Schiller's use of foreign names, but it is confusing. The editor says: "Aleala, accented on the third syllable." The text shows that Schiller accents the second. The editor must therefore be giving us the correct Moorish accent which Schiller mistook. Then follows: "Cf. the accentuation of Marquis (first syllable) in l. 485, etc." through a list of sixteen more foreign names. After the first note the reader expects to find the correct foreign pronunciation, but he discovers ere long that the list gives merely Schiller's actual usage. Since each of these examples is repeated under its own line caption it would have been wiser to omit the list here. But still worse it involves actual errors. The editor should be reminded that one need not assume that Schiller fol-

lowed an absolutely strict scheme of meter. His iambics are rather free. They were intended for dramatic declamation, not pedantic scansion. Therefore conclusions as to pronunciation are not always valid when resting on scansion alone. *Inquisitor*, in l. 5143, with accent on the third syllable is correct (*v. Muret-Sanders*). *Rebellion*, l. 3468, is correct with four syllables (*v. ibid.*). In l. 498 *Spanier* may have but two syllables, and it was probably so spoken. It is hard to believe that *Pavillon* was deliberately rendered with four syllables, for l. 1279 could be rendered *xx' xx' xxx' xx'* with an approximation to the French pronunciation, or *xx' xx' xx' xxx'*, with a slight accent on the second syllable. Its use in l. 2485 rather favors this latter view. *Medaillon*, in l. 3689, is probably a trisyllable with accent on the second. *Billet*, in l. 1514, was certainly not rendered with three syllables. The dash divides the line in such a way as to permit its correct pronunciation, first with a slight stress on the first syllable, and then with a slight stress on the second, as was quite natural with a Germanized French word.

To l. 1595, 'Der schönste Text,' the note is misleading. The editor remarks: "In the prose version Eboli is reading a book, instead of playing the lute, when Carlos enters." This seems to imply that 'der schönste Text' was appropriate to the scene in the prose, but becomes inappropriate when lute-playing is substituted for the book. Of course this is not at all the case, for 'text' is perfectly correct for the words of the song. The editor probably meant it as a mere insignificant variant.

The note to l. 343 is not correct. 'Scheitrecht' is 'at right angles,' but not 'therefore particularly destructive.' Two heavenly bodies meeting in exactly opposite directions would be most destructive. What Schiller means is that two bodies moving in orbits that intersect at right angles would meet at the point of intersection with the greatest infrequency; this explains *einzigmal* and *auf immer und ewig auseinanderfliehn*.

In l. 1762, *Heiligen* has no reference to the divine right of kings. It means simply 'This letter can unmask this saint.'

Here and there we see a tendency to introduce matters of no real relevancy, or such as have no other interest for the student of *Don Carlos* than any other gratuitous scrap of literary information. One might call attention to examples in the notes to lines 103, 158, 277, 483, 862, 937.

The publishers' part has been done with their usual excellence.

JOHN WILLIAM SCHOLL.

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Las Treinta de Juan Boscán.—An edition printed before his death. By HAYWARD KENISTON, Ph.D. New York, The Hispanic Society of America, 1911. 23 pp.

This is a reprint of a version of *Las Treinta* of Boscán, consisting of thirty *coplas* (hence the title) beginning: *A tanto disimular*, from a *pliego suelto* in gothic letter, s. l. n. a., now in the library of the Hispanic Society. Dr. Keniston shows that, in all probability, this version is earlier than the one which was printed in the first collected edition of Boscán, which appeared in Valencia, in 1543, the year after the poet's death. Beside the *Coplas* of Boscán, the *pliego suelto* contains a stanza of nine lines, inserted between coplas 29 and 30, entitled: "*Trouas a duas jrmaās muyto fermosas*," beginning: *Jamas mis ojos no vierā: cayeran*, which is probably by Gomez Manrique, as it is ascribed to him in the first edition of the *Cancionero General* of Valencia, 1511. The verses also appear in the *Cancionero del Castillo* (ed. de Bibliófilos Españoles, Madrid, 1882, Vol. I, p. 169), only here the first verse reads: *Jamas mis ojos no vieron : cayeron*. The *pliego suelto* concludes with the *coplas* of the Marques d'Astorga: *Esperança mia, por quién*. These *coplas*, the editor states, were also printed in the first edition of the *Cancionero General*, and they are, of course, included in the edition of 1882, where they occur on p. 453 (Vol. I, No. 249), with the caption:

"Coplas del Marques d'Astorga á su amiga." Dr. Keniston seems to have overlooked the fact that these *coplas* are also contained in the *Cancionero* of the British Museum, edited by me years ago: "Der Spanische Cancionero des Brit. Mus. (Ms. add. 10431)," Erlangen, 1895, No. 284, p. 121. Besides the many variants which this edition furnishes, as I there stated: "Das Cabo ist ganz verschieden in der Hs." It follows here:

Dios, en cuyo mano puesta
está toda nuestra vida
mucha & poca,
aparte toda respuesta
cruda, fuerte, desabrida,
de tu boca.

It is imperfect, as it should contain twelve verses.

The editor says (p. 7, note), that the author of these *coplas* may be "any one of the first three Marquises." If Gayangos be correct (*Catalogue of Ms. in the Brit. Mus.*, I, 421), that the Marquisate was not created till 1465 (July 16), then the author would most likely be Don Pedro Alvarez Osorio, Conde de Trastamara. See my ed. of the *Cancionero des Brit. Mus.*, p. 13. Lopez de Haro, *Nobilario*, I, 283, gives the date as July 6, 1475.

Dr. Keniston's publication is an excellent one, and we hope that he may soon republish some of the other rarities contained in the Library of the Hispanic Society.

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CORRESPONDENCE

COSMO MANUCHE, DRAMATIST

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—Probably few students of the drama ever read one of the three dramas (one tragedy, two comedies) of Cosmo Manuche, and fewer still know anything of the man himself. This is not to be wondered at, because his plays are not to be found in every library, and, besides, they are comparatively unimportant when

brought into contrast with the real dramatists of the period in which he lived. Historically, however, his pieces, though never acted, contain a significance beyond their literary or dramatic worth. For Manuche belongs with some scores of other minor dramatists who were the real harbingers of the Restoration Drama, continuing as they did the decadent elements in Jonson, Fletcher, Middleton, Massinger, Webster, etc., and thus forming a rather closely connected bridge between the later Jacobean dramatists and Wycherley, Vanbrugh, Congreve, etc.

This brief statement may be sufficient excuse for the publication of the following document found among the Egerton MSS. (No. 2623, fol. 34) in the British Museum,—especially as Manuche's two comedies (pr. 1652) belong to the class indicated. The signers of this curiously composed certificate are too well known to historians to require comment here. Berkeley and Talbot were favourites with the Merry Monarch, with whose restoration they were much concerned. (See Carte's *Original Letters*, etc., *passim*.)

The document referred to is self-explanatory, so far as it is coherent, and runs as follows:

"These are to Certifie, that Maior Cosmo Manuche: hath Dutifuly, And soberly serued his late Maies.^{the} (of blessed memory) As Cap.^{tn} And Maior: of ffoote from the beginning of the late Warrs in England, to their Ending. And after which, Contrived himselfe (with much paines and hazard) into his Maies.^{ties} seruice in Ireland, And the Islands of Sorlings: Tell they were deserted by his Maies.^{ties} armes And hath since Endured severall greeuous imprisonments in London by the Tyranicall wills of his Now Maies.^{ties} Ennemis. To the ruine of himselfe, his wife, and two Childdren. Himselfe, being disabled by sicknesse (caused by those sufferings) to giue a Personall acompt of of [sic] his former sufferings, And Present deplorable Condition [G]juen vnder our hands at whitehall this 12th of Decem.^{br} 1661

Jo. Berkeley
G. Talbot
Lewis Dyne."

WATSON NICHOLSON.

London, England.

MORE CONDITIONS OF A GOOD HORSE

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—Professor Carleton Brown (*MLN.*, xxvii, 125) pointed out several catalogues of the properties of a good horse similar to two such lists noted in Professor Hulme's edition of the *Harrowing of Hell*. May I call attention to two more analogues, which confirm the impression that these proverbial witticisms had a wide circulation?

In Robert Greene's play, *James the Fourth* (*circa* 1592), Ateukin, who desires to procure a servant, is conversing with Slipper, who wishes the position:

"Ateu. Art thou so good in keeping a horse? I pray thee tell me how many good qualities hath a horse?"

"Slip. Why, so, sir: a horse hath two properties of a man, that is, a proude heart, and a hardie stomacke; foure properties of a Lyon, a broad brest, a stiffe docket,—hold your nose, master,—a wild countenance, and 4 good legs; nine properties of a Foxe, nine of a Hare, nine of an Asse, and ten of a woman.

"Ateu. A woman! why, what properties of a woman hath a Horse?"

"Slip. O, maister, know you not that? Draw your tables, and write what wise I speake. First, a merry countenance; second, a soft pace; third, a broad forehead; fourth, broad buttockes; fift, hard of warde; sixt, easie to leape vpon; seventh, good at long iourney; eight, mouing vnder a man; ninth, always busie with the mouth; tenth, euer chewing on the bridle." (*Collins, Plays and Poems of Greene*, Vol. II, p. 102.)

In a note on this passage, suggested, it seems, by Mr. W. J. Craig, Collins cites its undoubted source, a similar passage in "Fitzherbert's *Book of Husbandry*, first printed in 1523," and reprinted by Dr. Skeat for the English Dialect Society. Unfortunately even Skeat's reprint is not available to me for comparison just now, but it seems to be an entirely different work from the *Foure Bookes of Husbandry*, quoted by Professor Brown. Greene has borrowed almost literally, though Fitzherbert lists fifty-four properties to Greene's forty-three.

ROBERT ADGER LAW.

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ALGEBRA

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—The *NED.* makes certain errors of omission and commission in the discussion of the words *algebra* and *almachabel*. The omission is in neglecting to ascribe both of these terms, which are transliterations from an Arabic title, to the first systematic treatise on algebra, *al-jebr w'al-muq-balah*, written by Al-Khowarizmi (c. 825 A. D.). Further the *NED.* states incorrectly that *algebra* was taken into Italian in 1202, which is the date of the first draft of the *Liber abaci* by Leonardo Pisano. This work was published as *Scritti di Leonardo Pisano*, Vol. I, *Il liber abbaci*, Rome, 1857, by Prince Boncompagni, but notwithstanding the title the text is in Latin. Nor would it be correct to state that Leonard introduced the word *algebra* into Latin, for Gherard of Cremona (1114–1187) used the term in his translation of Al-Khowarizmi's algebra and in at least two other translations from the Arabic. As a title Leonard always couples *algebra* with *al-muqabalala* as in the Arabic original but he does use the expression, *Age secundum algebra*. In this latter, however, he but follows Abu Kamil (c. 950 A. D.), the second great Arabic writer in this field, from whom, as I have recently shown (*Bibliotheca mathematica*, Vol. XII, 1912, pp. 40–55), Leonard drew many of his problems. In the absence of any evidence that Leonard knew Arabic we must suppose that he used a Latin translation of Abu Kamil's work. The *NED.* gives *almachabel* as "obs.=algebra." The citation from John Dee couples the two terms as we have mentioned, and it is this phrase which is equivalent to our word 'algebra'; this was the universal custom wherever *al-muqābalah* was used at all. It may be well to state that *al-jebr* refers to the change of negative terms from one side of an equation to positive terms upon the other, while *al-muqābalah* refers to balancing or canceling like terms which occur on both sides of an equation against each other.

LOUIS C. KARPINSKI.

University of Michigan.

"DAS WÄRE NOCH SCHÖNER"

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SIRS:—Wilhelmi in his amusing one-act comedy, *Einer muss heiraten*, twice introduces the expression: "Das wäre ja noch schöner." In his annotations to the play an American editor, strange to say, fails to make any reference to the passage, a fact which seems to show that he has missed the author's meaning. The phrase is by no means to be taken literally, hence, occurring as it does in a text selected for elementary reading, it surely, in each case, calls for a comment.

When faint-hearted Jacob exclaims to his aunt: "Aber Sie werden sehen, Tante, dass sie [i. e., Louise] mich ausschlägt," his brother William at once reassuringly replies: "Das wäre ja noch schöner!"—here, as often, a purely ironical remark which might be rendered by one of the expressions: *Impossible*, *Why*, *the idea*, or *That would beat everything*. It is scarcely necessary to add that the second occurrence of the phrase later in the comedy has quite the same meaning; in other words, the well-known expression has somewhat the force of the likewise ironical French phrase: *Ah, par exemple.*

C. H. IBERSHOFF.

University of Wisconsin.

ANOTHER TRANSLATION FROM CAMUS

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SIRS:—In *Modern Language Notes* for November, 1912, in a review of Miss Morgan's *Rise of the Novel of Manners*, I included a list of six books translated into English from the writings of Jean-Pierre Camus. About the same time there came into possession of the Library of Bryn Mawr College a small quarto which should be added to that list, being unmistakably a translation of Camus's *Elise, ou l'innocence coupable*, Paris, 1621. It bears the

title: "Elise, or Innocencie Guilty. A new Romance, translated into English by Jo: Jennings, Gent. London, Printed by T. Newcomb for Humphrey Moseley, . . . 1655." The Epistle Dedicatory, to "the Right Honourable, and truly Noble and most Virtuous Lady, Frances Countess of Dorset," notes merely that the translator has "by a strange fortune lighted on this Book;" while the prefatory address to the reader explains:—"The little time I lived in France, and the small skill I attained in the language, should have diverted me from the undertaking of a Translation: but the content I took in the reading of this Tragick History of Eliza, made me rather venture the censure of Detractors, then not to publish a Story of so much pitty and example." No reference is made to the original author, but the document is no less valuable in support of the contention that the works of Camus found conditions in England particularly favorable to their reception, and encouraged there a fondness for the quasi-tragic and highly moralized novel, approximately a century before Richardson.

A. H. UPHAM.

Bryn Mawr College.

ONE OF W. B. YEATS'S SOURCES

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SIRS:—The method of treating Old Irish legends by the writers of the modern Celtic revival is very well illustrated by comparing W. B. Yeats's short-story, *The Crucifixion of the Outcast*, in his volume, *The Secret Rose* (1897), with what seems to be its source, *The Vision of Mac Conglinne* (Edited and translated by Kuno Meyer, 1892). The Old Irish tale is an absurd and formless story quite lacking in motive or probability, but filled with the naïve charm and crude humor of Old Celtic narrative. The story opens with an explanation of the presence of the demon of gluttony in the throat of Cathal Mac Finguine, King of

Munster. After this, the author briefly sings the names of the eight bards, including himself, at the school of Armagh at the time. Then, after praising himself, he describes his preparations for his first poetical journey to visit Cathal, who is on a royal progress. Mac Conglinne travels in one day from Roscommon to Cork and arrives a short time before vespers at the guest-house of the monastery, where he intends to pass the night. Then follows the description of the guest-house, with its filthy blanket and bath-tub still filled with the water of the night before. As he is unable to sleep for the fleas and lice, he takes out his psalter and sings psalms. He sings "dia-psalms and syn-psalms and sets of ten with paters and canticles and hymns at the conclusion of each fifty." Finally, the abbot sends a servant to take him his oaten ration, whey-water, and two sods of peat. As Mac Conglinne does not think much of the entertainment he sings four satiric quatrains about it and sends it back to the abbot. The abbot, fearing lest little boys take up the quatrains and sing them to the scandal of the monastery, orders the gleeman to be stripped, beaten, ducked, and on the morrow to be crucified. The next morning after the monks all confirm the abbot's judgment, Mac Conglinne is led out to a green south of Cork. On the way he asks a boon. This being granted, he takes food from his wallet, and after a discussion about tithes, eats his bacon and two cakes. Later he does some strange juggling trick, which the monks tire of, but they ask the abbot to grant him respite till the morrow. This is reluctantly conceded, and Mac Conglinne is tied to a pillar all night. This much occupies a quarter of the story, the only part that Yeats has used. The rest of the tale relates the vision of the gleeman; a curse on the abbot, whose genealogy he traces from a long line of luxurious viands; the permission to go to Cathal to cure him of the demon of gluttony, as the vision has directed; his success in this enterprise; and, finally, his pardon and reward.

Yeats's story is based on the portion of the old tale which occupies eleven pages out of the total of fifty-six. The rest he rejects wholly.

He has told his portion of the story in about the same space as the original, but with the omission of much that is not essential, and the expansion of the rest with graphic detail. Yeats has reduced the story to the narrative of a wandering bard who, insulted by the hospitality of the monks, sings a curse on them and their abbot, and is crucified as a punishment.

A study of the two stories shows three things quite characteristic of the difference between Old Irish literature and that of the Celtic revival. They are a loss of naïveté, and a gain in motivation and unity of structure and tone. The naïveté is lost by the improvement in structure and the omission of such passages as that attributing the whole adventure to "original sin, and MacConglinne's hereditary sin, and his own plain-working bad luck." The gain in motivation is illustrated by a slight change in order, which Yeats has introduced to give a reason for the action of the monks. In the original, the severe punishment is meted out merely for the rather harmless quatrain on the bread and sods; the curse which might have provoked the action comes afterwards. In Yeats's version the gleeman is so angry at the hospitality offered that he raises a great clamor, and beats against the door with the tub. When a lay brother comes to silence him he curses the "cowardly and tyrannous race of friars, persecutors of the bard and gleeman, haters of life and joy!" Then he sings "a bard's curse upon the Coarb," standing on the tub under the window. He curses "in rime and with two assonances in every line of his curse."

The addition of unity of structure and tone is the most striking change Yeats has introduced. All mention of the demon of gluttony, of the vision, and of the curing of Cathal is omitted. The story is changed from a crudely comic, crazy series of events, arranged without any sense of proportion, to a perfectly unified short-story with a sombre atmosphere and tragic conclusion.

C. E. ANDREWS.

Amherst, Mass.

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Amherst, Mass.

BRIEF MENTION

The editors of the *Glossaire des patois de la Suisse romande* have, since 1902, been reporting the state of progress of the enterprise through their *Rapports annuels* and their valuable *Bulletin* (cf. Morf, *Aus Dichtung und Sprache der Romanen*, zweite Reihe, pp. 288-330, and *Romania*, XXXVIII, pp. 626-627). They have now issued Volume I of their first extensive publication, the title of which is in itself an indication of the importance of the book (*Bibliographie linguistique de la Suisse romande* par Louis Gauchat et Jules Jeanjaquet. Tome Ier. Neuchâtel, Attinger, 1912. x + 291 pp.). The volume now in our hands is composed of two chapters: "Extension du français et question des langues en Suisse," which in 1910 already had a limited circulation as a *tirage à part*, and "Littérature patoise," embracing a general bibliography of Romance Swiss texts and a bibliography of texts classed by cantons. The individual articles under each sub-heading are arranged chronologically, and the 1039 titles are accompanied by critical analyses, many of them rather detailed. These analyses lend special life to the treatment (pp. 30-70) of the present stage of the dialects. Copious alphabetic and systematic indexes add materially to the utility of the book.

We shall look forward with interest to the appearance of the more specifically linguistic studies which will constitute the second part of a book prepared with such conscientious and loving care. This volume of preliminary studies fully justifies our anticipating a high standard of excellence in the *Glossaire*.

A. T.

Italian Short Stories selected and edited by E. H. Wilkins and R. Altrocchi (Boston, Heath and Co.) is the title of a reader for elementary classes, prepared with unusual care, which fulfills the unusual purpose of benefiting the student as much as possible. It contains six stories: Serao, *Idilio di Pulcinella*; Deledda, *L'Assassino degli Alberi*; Fogazzaro, *Eden Anto*; Fucini, *La Visita del Prefetto*; Verga, *Cavalleria Rusticana*; D'Annunzio, *Gli Idolatri*, and three short poems by Fogazzaro, Fucini, D'Annunzio. The stories, which thus represent, in authorship and contents, six different races of Italians, are arranged in the above order according to their difficulty. The last four are masterpieces; the first two readable

enough, but the first (one of the author's earliest writings) does not do her justice. Each is preceded by a concise and well-informed introduction, though nothing is said of the late neochristian and aristocratic tendencies of Serao, of the Romantic beginnings of Verga, of the progress from naturalism to idealism of D'Annunzio. Sufficient bibliography is given at the end of the introductions and in the preface: one misses Muret's *Littérature Italienne d'Aujourd'hui*, Paris, 1906. The notes are admirable for the most part: full of useful information not easy to obtain. A few more on the linguistic peculiarities of the authors would have been welcome. The cleverly condensed rules of grammar, in notes on the first two stories, are of doubtful advantage, since they need attentive study, and very little grammar can be given in the available space. *per esempio* (p. 28, n. 2) should be translated literally. *la* (p. 90, n. 2) is an object pronoun. *Mamma mia!* (p. 92, n. 3) means 'Ain't you awful!' The vocabulary is good, and the proof-reading has been excellent: the only misprint noticed is (p. 28, n. 1) "26" for 27.

J. E. S.

The most authoritative recent contributions to our knowledge of Menéndez y Pelayo, are the two *discursos* delivered in the Ateneo of Madrid on Nov. 9, 1912: D. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, *La Representación de Menéndez y Pelayo en la vida histórica nacional*,¹ and D. Gonzalo Cedrún de la Pedraja, *La Niñez de Menéndez y Pelayo*.¹ Bonilla (pupil, colleague, and close friend of the *maestro* during his last years) gives an interesting personal appreciation which emphasizes the genius of Menéndez as rising above his scholarship. This genius has been a primary factor in the resurrection of the past of Spanish literature and the rehabilitation of the present. Cedrún de la Pedraja, on the other hand, was the boyhood friend of Menéndez and his fellow-student in Santander. Consequently, the second *discurso* furnishes an historical outline of Menéndez' early life, with special reference to his contributions to *La Abeja Montañesa*, to the influence of Pereda, school teachers and family friends, and to the interesting part played by the bookseller Fabián Hernández. The account closes with the departure of Menéndez for Barcelona, where he received the lasting impress of Luanco and Milá.

¹ Madrid, Victoriano Suárez, 1912. 16mo.